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GLEANNINGS

OF

ANTIQUITIES.

CONTAINING,

I. An ESSAY for Explaining the CREATION and the DELUGE, according to the Sense of the GENTILES. In a LETTER to a Learned Person.

II. A DISCOURSE of ORACLES, giving an Account of the *Sibylline* ORACLES; with an uncommon Explication of *Virgil's* Fourth Eclogue, and some other Parts of his Works relating to them.

To which is Added,

An Account of the ORACLES delivered at *Delphos*, and in the other Temples of the GENTILES; and of the Rise and Cessation of ORACLES, both among the JEWS and GENTILES.

III. Some NOTES concerning FAMILIAR SPIRITS.

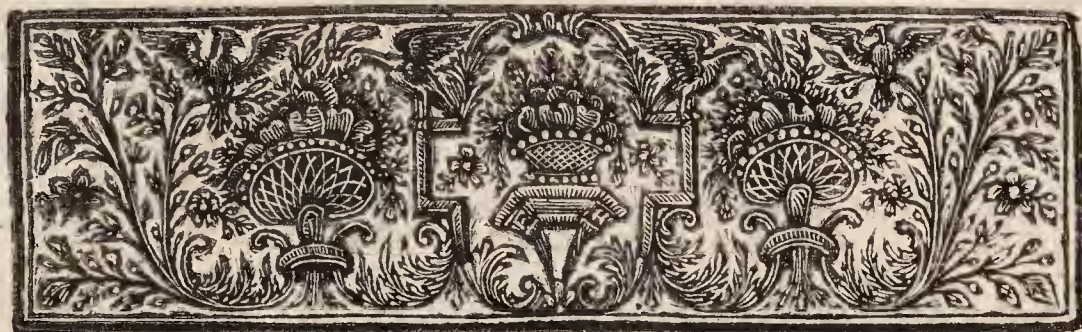
By JOHN BEAUMONT, *Gent.*

*Anxius inquirō sepelit quæ longa Vetustas,
Eruo quæ tacitis obsoluere libris.
Multaque, dum meditor, multi docuere Magistri;
Queis fruor, & sine queis, nil mihi dulce foret.*

L O N D O N;

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To the Honourable

Richard Edgewcombe Esq;

S I R,



Mong all the Amusements this World affords, Men of the strongest Instincts have found none more charming, than a Pursuit of Knowledge: *Grav-*
vis

vi DEDICATION.

*vis * est Sitis bonarum rerum cui sola fruendi assiduitas Medicinam facit.* And as I have always indulg'd a studious Life, and have lately gathered together a few Gleanings of Antiquities, which contain some Matters beside the common course of Learning ; and, as I conceive, highly worthy an inquiry into : I have now thought good to make them publick, and humbly inscribe them to your Name. And tho' your honourable Station in the Government may much engage your Thoughts, I am inclined to think, the Nature

* Symmachus Epist. L. 3. Ep. 46.

of the Subjects I treat of, may be an inducement for you, at some leifure Minutes, to take a tranfient View of them. And if fome Particulars in what I have written may feem obfcure, as indeed they would not admit of an open unfolding ; I fhall always be ready to attend your Commands for explaining them in the beft manner I may : being,

S I R,

Your moft Humble,

Moft Obliged, and

Moft Obedient Servant,

JOHN BEAUMONT.

The following ERRATA ought to be corrected before Perusal.

Page 10. l. 34. read *Heptaplus*. p. 12. l. 33. r. celebrate. p. 16. l. 12. r. *mentes*. *ib.* l. 20. r. of the Deluge. *ib.* l. 30. r. *Asia*. p. 33. l. 8, 21, 23. r. *Aubury*. *ib.* l. 23. r. grett. p. 68. l. 29. r. *Peucer*. p. 80. l. 21. r. *ωδῖνας*. p. 83. l. 3. r. *Orgiis*. p. 93. l. 33. r. *ὑλῆς*. p. 98. l. 29. r. we might. p. 101. l. 17. r. *despiciet*. p. 103. l. 11. r. *Vota mea*. p. 106. l. 1. blot out the Poet says. p. 133. l. 27. after Age, add, after the Flood. p. 140. l. 11. blot out *an*. *ib.* l. 30. r. to the. p. 141. l. 27. r. to sit under. p. 144. l. 26. r. stand. p. 163. l. 9. r. *Impostures*. p. 164. l. 15. r. having. p. 153. l. 15. r. a little before. p. 193. l. 35. r. *Analect. H. 4. b.* p. 203. l. 1. *Hirsaug*.



A N
E S S A Y
F O R

*Explaining the Creation and
the Deluge, according to the
Sense of the GENTILES:
where a transient Notice is
taken of the various Hypo-
theses have been set up for
explaining them.*

In a LETTER to a Learned Person.

S I R,



APPENING lately to be present where
a Discourse was offered concerning Mat-
ters of the most remote Antiquity, viz.
the Creation, the Deluge, the *Chinese*
Chronology, &c. and having drawn to-
gether some Conjectures thereunto relating, I adven-
ture to publish them in this Letter to you; hoping

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I may receive your Thoughts (which I greatly value) concerning them; as likewise those of some other Persons, who may have considered these Matters: which, the greater and more antient they are, become the more liable to the Discourse of all Ages. No Nation in the Universe has come to our knowledge, which has so much amused and amazed the Christian World, as that of *China*; and this especially on the account of its Chronology, that Nation having kept, from the Beginning of their Government, unexceptionable Records of Times and Transactions, far beyond those of any other Nation.

Some will have it, that only the Nation of the *Hebrews* knew their own Antiquity, and that of all other Nations; that, with the latter, all antient Transactions were uncertain and fabulous; whereas the *Hebrews* knew the Origin of all things, and even the Age of the World itself, and have recorded them in their Writings: that where the Sacred History ends, the Historical Time of the *Gentiles*, *Chaldeans*, *Greeks* and *Romans* begins; that is, a little before the *Babylonian Captivity*: for from thence begins the *Æra* of *Nabonassar*, that of the *Olympiads*, and that of the building of *Rome*. And it's observable, that these three famous *Æra's* began, in a manner, at the same time; that is, within an Age, or a few Years, one of the other: for, according to learned Chronologers, the *Epocha* of *Nabonassar* began *An. Mundi* 3257, before *Christ*, *An.* 747. that of the *Olympiads*, *A. M.* 3228, before *Christ*, *An.* 776. that of the building of *Rome*, *A. M.* 3256, before *Christ*, 748. So that before these Times, all things were, in a manner, meer Ignorance and Darknes.

And many learned Men have thought, that *Moses* is the Person from whom all the secret Meanings of the Fables, or the Truths corrupted by the Fables, among the *Gentiles*, are to be sought; they not being to be explained but by the *Hebrew Antiquities*, tho
some

some are of opinion, that the *Hebrews* took most of their Rites and Learning from the *Egyptians*.

What we have received from *Moses*, has been handed down to us by such Authority, that it is not free for those who have been trained up under the Engagement of his Books, to call in question the Truth of the Time there denoted for the Creation, the Deluge, or any other Matters therein contained; tho it may be observed that *Moses* does not tell us whence he had taken what he had written concerning the Creation, the Deluge, the *Antediluvian* Patriarchs, &c. or that he had it from any publick Records of a Nation or People, (the *Chinese* Affairs being all so recorded) but delivers all meerly upon his own Authority; tho *Father Simon*, at the end of his *Critical History on the Old Testament*, in a Catalogue of Books there annex'd, tells us of a Book written by *Abrauanel*, intituled, *Miphaboth Elohim, The Works of God*, printed at *Venice* about the Year 1545. in 4to. where he treats learnedly concerning the Creation of the World, and withal examines whence *Moses* took what is written in the Book of *Genesis*: which Book I could wish we had; tho, I suppose, *Abrauanel* goes there upon the same Principles he does in his Preface to his Commentary on *Jeshua*, where he says, Those they call Scribes, or Prophets, among the *Jews*, took care to gather together what passed in the State, and did not only write the History of their Times, but took all the liberty of adding or diminishing what they thought proper to the Memoirs of the other Prophets that had preceded them. And *Father Simon*, in his said *Critical History*, l. 1. c. 2. tells us, That the greatest part of the Sacred Books that are come to us, are but Abridgments or Summaries of the antient Acts that were kept in the Archives of the *Hebrews*. And *Abrauanel* is of opinion, that those Books being reviewed by the *Sanhedrim*, or other Persons divinely inspired, had all the Authority necessary that could

be desired in an Affair of this importance; and he is so far persuaded of the Truth of his Principle, that he dares deny, against the Sense of the Doctors in the *Talmud*, that *Joshua* and *Samuel* were the Authors of the Books that bear their Names; and says, that *Samuel* was the Author of the Book of *Joshua* and *Judges*; and that the Books of *Samuel* and *Kings* were written by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, who, according to him, compiled them from the Memoirs of *Samuel*, *Nathan*, *Gad*, and the other Prophets or publick Writers that lived before him.

However this may be, it must be observed that *Father Simon*, in his Answers to the Objections made by *Mr. Spanheim* and *Dr. Dupin* against his *Critical History*, owns that he cannot apply to the Book of *Genesis* what has been said of the way of registering publick Acts in the time of *Moses*; and says, that the History of the Creation, the Deluge, and in a word, of all the Facts and Genealogies comprized in *Genesis*, are simply related, as if *Moses* had taken them from some authentick Books, or had them by some certain Tradition, as *Eusebius* says he had them by Tradition from his Ancestors; it not being mentioned in all *Genesis* that God dictated to *Moses* what is there related, or that he received it by the Spirit of Prophecy.

I am not ignorant that *Manasseh Ben-Israel*, in his 6th *Problem* concerning the Creation, is of a contrary Opinion to what is before delivered, concerning the Knowledge of *Moses* as to what he has writ of the Creation: and because I love to be open in what I write, and to give the full Strength of what is writ against any Opinion I may be inclined to follow; I shall here give you what he writes in this Problem, which is thus proposed:

Whether Moses invented the History of the Creation of the World of his head, or whether he had the Knowledge of it by Tradition or Revelation? And on this head, he
writes

writes as follows : Man's Understanding inclines more to believe that the World was from Eternity, than that at some time it had a Beginning; and therefore it could not be that *Moses* feign'd the Creation of the World from his own Head : For will any Man's Mind dictate to him, that the World was created in the space of six Days, and no more, nor no less ? Who, of set purpose, would feign that the World was made at certain Intervals of Time ; since it seems to make more for the Glory of God's Power if it be said, the World was made in an Instant ? And who would imagine that the Heavens were first created without Stars, and that they were adorned with them on the fourth Day ? What judicious Mind can conceive that the Plants were created on the third Day, and the Sun on the fourth Day ; since naturally they receive their Vegetation from the Rays of the Sun ? What Reason dictated that a whole Day was spent in the Creation of the Fishes and Fowls, and not a whole and entire one was spent in the Creation of the most perfect Being, *viz.* Man ; but he was created in one and the same Day with mute Animals ? Who, of his own head, would feign such a Story as that of *Adam*, *Cain*, *Abel*, and the whole Series of all the Generations ? Wherefore I conclude that *Moses* could not, from the Invention of his own Head, describe the Way and Manner of the Creation ; much less can it be understood that *Moses* had the Knowledge of those things which he writ concerning the Creation from the Tradition of Ancestors. For tho you suppose the Tribes of *Israel* received those things handed down, as it were, to them from *Jacob*, *Jacob* from *Sem*, *Sem* from *Noah*, *Noah* from *Methusalem*, and he from *Adam* ; yet a Doubt will always remain, by what way they came to know all those things that were done before, in the space of six Days, since *Adam* himself, who is to be made the first Fountain and Origin of this Tradition,

tion, was created at last, on the sixth Day. Add to this, that if *Moses* had known those things by Tradition, the same things would not have been unknown to many Nations and People.

Wherefore we must necessarily say, that the Creation of the World was revealed to *Adam*, and that his Posterity received it by Tradition from him. But because it was not fit that a thing of so great weight should rely on the Authority, Credit and Testimony of one Man; therefore God, in the second place, appeared to *Moses*, and gave a clear Assurance of this thing to all the People in Mount *Sinai*, commanding the Observance of the Sabbath, that it might appear by a certain Memorial, that the World was created in six Days, and that God rested on the seventh.

Now it remains for us only to explain why *Moses*, in describing the Creation of the World, does not declare that he received it, by Revelation, from God himself: for the Explication of which thing, what follows may contribute. The Prophecy of *Moses* was by so much the more worthy, and exceeding the Prophecy of all the other Prophets, that to these, at the time they received the Prophecy, only the Sense, or the thing comprehended in the Prophecy, was revealed, but they deliver'd that Thing, or Sense, in their own Words to the People; and for that reason, they used this Form of speaking, *And the Lord spake to me, And the Lord said to me*: as tho they would say, Those things we deliver, tho we express them with our own Words; yet they have the Sense which we have received from God himself. But to *Moses* not only the things were prophetically delivered, but together with them the very Words also, with which they were to be delivered, were dictated; and this is the Cause that *Moses*, when he delivers those Revelations, does not speak otherwise than if a third Person spake, relating those things which God had commanded,

manded, and which *Moses* himself had done: whence are those Forms of speaking, *And the Lord spake to Moses, And the Lord said to Moses*. From hence appears a Solution of the Doubt after this manner: Since the Scripture, as a Type, and Character, relates things themselves as they are, and so is bound to follow in relating the History of Things, the Order and Series of Time in which each Thing began, or was done; it would be absurd and very incongruous, that in the History of the Creation of the World, which was 2000 Years before *Moses*, a mention should be made of *Moses*; for so it would be said that *Moses* prophesied before he was born: which since it is absurd, the Scripture begins with an admirable Wisdom and Order from the Creation of the World, which was made in six Days, and follows it on from the Birth of *Adam* and his Posterity, to *Moses*; and from that time, as often as it mentions *Moses*, it still relates his Prophecy in that ordinary Phrase, as tho some third Person related it. Therefore we conclude it much more credible, that, tho it may be granted he received the Creation of the World by Tradition, yet that the same was revealed to him afterwards by God, and after the Way and Manner as the same is described. Many and great Reasons make for this Opinion, which shall be brought by me elsewhere at large. So far *Manasseh Ben-Israel*.

Here we see this Author opposes what is set forth before, and I shall leave it to the judicious Reader to consider the Weight of what he has delivered, without adding to what is said before: As for the great Reasons which he says he shall somewhere give us to support his Opinion, I cannot find them in any Book of his which has come to my hands. I hoped to have found them in his *Conciliator on Genesis*, but they are not there; tho possibly they may be in the *Addenda* to that Book, which he has since published, and which I have not seen. But wherever they are, I doubt

doubt they will prove but *Rabbinical Reasons*; and I shall now proceed on my Matter.

When we consider that *Moses* intimates a time for the Creation, it may be proper to observe, that all the *Gentiles* (the *Chineses* not excepted) held the World to have been from Eternity, either in the present State it is, adorned with Animals, Vegetables and Minerals; or in a Chaodical or Atomical State, from which afterwards it was brought to Perfection: for by their natural Light they could not attain to the Knowledge of a Creation, which is a supernatural Act, but held to their Maxim, *Ex nihilo nihil fit*. And it has been the Opinion of many as able Divines as Christianity has had, that it is not to be made out from Human Reason but that the World has been from Eternity, by an Emanation from the first Cause, as the learned *Maimonides*, in his *More Nevochim*, par. 1. c. 7. well makes forth, saying, Whatever Arguments some Men bring as Demonstrations to make out the Newness of the World, they are uncertain and wholly doubtful; nor are they absolutely and precisely demonstrative, unless it be to him who knows not the difference there is betwixt a Demonstration, a Topick, and a Sophism: but to him that understands those things, it appears more clear than the Noon-day, that many doubts adhere to those Proofs, and that those Principles cannot be demonstrated by any natural Reason. And *Manilius*, l. 1. p. 5. v. 25. having set forth all the Opinions of the antient Philosophers concerning the Rise of the World, viz. Whether it were from Eternity, or rose from a Chaos, in Time, &c. has dared to conclude thus:

*Semper erit genus in pugna, dubiumque manebit
Quod latet, & tantum supra est hominemque Deumque.*

*Its Rise will still be in Contest, nor can
The Doubt be clear'd; surpassing God and Man.*

And when any of the *Gentiles* write of a *Chaos*, and the Rise of the World from it, we find, as to the Time of that Rise, they leave it wholly indefinite; and what they say else of it, is only by way of *Hypothesis* (they well knowing it to be beyond the reach of Man to have any thing certain in this matter) to comply with the Apprehensions of the Vulgar, who cannot conceive how any thing should come to have a Being, but by a gradual Rise, as in common Generations. And so *St. Austin*, *de Civ. Dei*, l. 10. c. 31. tells us, That, as to what the *Gentiles* have said, as to the Beginning of the World, *Fuit Initium Substitutionis, non Temporis*, it was only a substituted Beginning, on the account before mentioned. And if any of the *Gentiles* who have read the Books of *Moses*, should be asked what they thought of what *Moses* has written concerning the Creation; it's natural to believe, that not being brought up under an Engagement to what he had delivered, they would take the same freedom with him, as we have done with their Legislators, in saying, That, as to a Communion they pretended with invisible Powers, who dictated their Laws to them; this was only said by them to gain Authority with the People: And *Diodorus* plainly says the same of *Moses*; tho probably they would own, that *Moses* setting up for a Divine Legislator, had framed an *Hypothesis* very conformable to his Undertaking, in making that God the Creator and Framers of the World, whom he would have to be in a particular manner the Ruler of the *Jewish Nation*. They might consider that, as it's the Business of Legislators to cultivate the moral World, and not the natural; so they draw all *Physicks*, and the other Sciences, to Morals, and set forth such a Rise and Periods to the World, as they think suit best with their moral Ends. And it's manifest *St. Austin* looked on what is delivered by *Moses* concerning the Creation, to be set forth by way of *Hypothesis*; otherwise he could not have maintained, as

he did, that the World was created in an Instant, and consequently not according to that Order which *Moses* sets forth. Which Opinion also, as *Abulpharabius* tells us in the beginning of his History of the *Dynasties*, translated into *Latin* by *Dr. Pocock*, was held by *Gregorius Nyssen* and *Jacobus Edissen*; as it was likewise by *Procopius* and *Cajetan*, and many of the *Rabbins*, who best understood and allegorized the Bible according to their mysterious *Cabbala*, and the Traditions of their Ancestors. And *Philo*, in the beginning of his first Book concerning the *Allegories of the Law*, plainly writes, *Rusticanae Simpliciter est putare sex diebus, aut utique certo tempore mundum conditum*. So *Maimonides*, in his *More Nevochim*, part 2. c. 30. says, that Heaven and Earth were created together; and in his foregoing Chapter, that all things that are said concerning the Work of the Creation, are not to be understood and taken according to the Letter, as the Vulgar think: for if they were, the Wise Men would not have commanded them to be hidden, nor would have used so great Care in hiding and involving them in Parables, and forbid any Discourse of them before the People, because their literal Senses either beget ill Thoughts, Imaginations, or Opinions concerning the Nature of God, or overthrow the Foundations of the Law, and introduce some Heresy. And in his Preface, he says, it is not possible to make known the Work of the Creation to Flesh and Blood; therefore the Wise Men have been forced to use Parables, *Ænigma's*, and very abstruse Speeches.

I know *Johannes Picus* has shewn a great Effort of Wit and Learning in his sevenfold Exposition of the first Chapter of *Genesis*, which he calls *Heptaphus*; on which, tho I should not pass that Censure which a certain Author has done, saying it to be written *Magnâ ostentatione, sed parvo fructu*; yet I believe there are many Men of a luxuriant Genius, who often in their Comments on Authors, floridly set forth many things,

things, which the Authors themselves never dreamt of.

Dr. *Hyde*, in his *History of the Religion of the Persians*, tells us of another *Hypothesis* concerning the Creation. He writes, that instead of that we call the *Hexameron*, or six Days Work, those that were of the Race of the old *Persians* believed God created the World in *six Times*, so called with regard to the six Days mentioned in the Scripture; they thinking that in so great a Work, a Day is put for a Collection of Days. This Doctrine they had from *Zoroaster*, the *Persian* Prophet, who strictly enjoined a Festival Observation of those six times, which some think to have been more antient than *Zoroaster*, and say that God first admonished the old King of *Persia*, called *Gienshed*, of these times, and that *Zoroaster* long after renewed and ordered a Continuation and a farther Observation of them; but haply this is fabulous, for it seems that *Zoroaster* first instituted and enjoined them to be observed by the *Persians*.

There is an Agreement among all their Authors concerning the Names of the said Times, and their Order, and concerning the Number of the Days in general, and of the Order of the Creation; but concerning the Site of the Times, that is, in what Month, Day, and in what part of the Year they began, it is not so. However, all the Days of the Creation numbred together make 365, which compleat one whole Year.

Now to settle the Month and Day, and the part of the Year in which the Times began, and in which the *Persians* seem confused, we find their beginning of their last Feast is certain, without any Difference among them; whence by the Guidance of that we may determine of the rest after the following manner, according to the antient Order of the Months.

1st, The Creation of the Heavens in 45 Days, beginning on the 11th of *May*, lasted unto the 25th of *June*, both inclusively.

2^{dly}, The Creation of the Waters in 60 Days, beginning on the 26th of *June*, lasted to the 25th of *August*, both inclusively.

3^{dly}, The Creation of the Earth in 75 Days, beginning on the 26th of *August*, lasted to the 10th of *November*, both inclusively.

4^{thly}, The Creation of the Trees and Plants in 30 Days, beginning on the 11th of *November*, lasted to the 10th of *December*, both inclusively.

5^{thly}, The Creation of Animals in 80 Days, beginning on the 11th of *December*, held to the 30th of *March*, both inclusively.

6^{thly}, The Creation of Man in 75 Days, beginning on the first of the remaining Days, held to the 10th of *May*, both inclusively.

In the whole a compleat Year, or 365 Days ; so that according to them, as far as we may gather, the Creation seems begun in the Summer, about the Month of *May*, and to have been ended upon the Revolution of the Year at the same time ; so as upon *Adam's* Creation all the Productions of the Earth were in their full State of Perfection.

Therefore, after their Belief in one true and eternal God, which they held before, this was *Zoroaster's* next Precept, that in each of the said Times, there should be celebrated in every Time five Festival Days, with Feasting and Joy ; wherefore even at present, the antient *Persians* and their *Magi*, according to the Institution of *Zoroaster*, in each festival Time of the Creation, celebrated five Days, and during those five Days praise God for the things he created in that part of Time, and exhort Men to all the Offices of a pious Mind, which answer to those Works.

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The festival Celebration therefore of each of the six Times lasts only for five Days, tho they believe the Work done in each time lasted more Days in doing, as is said before.

Zoroaster therefore taking the History of the Creation both from the *Hebrew Bibles*, and the Mouths of the *Jews* in *Persia*, wrested and interpreted it after this manner, expounding the six Days there mentioned to be six Times, each consisting of many Days, the whole Sum of which makes a compleat Year; he being uneasy to think that so great a Work as the Creation of the World was hastily performed in six Days, and therefore assigned longer times for it. Now tho God could have created the World, and all things in it, in an Instant; yet in compliance with Mens Apprehensions, he divided his Work into six Days, and rested the seventh, to be an Example for Men, whom he would have to sanctify the seventh Day, which he strictly commanded, and ordered severe Punishments to be inflicted on Transgressors. So far my Abstract from *Dr. Hyde*, as to *Zoroaster's Hypothesis*, concerning the Creation.

Having considered the Creation, I shall now proceed to the Deluge; and if we should ask the *Gentiles* what they thought of what *Moses* has written concerning the Deluge, doubtless, as it's manifest in what they have set forth concerning Deluges, and a Renovation of Things, they only intimated in a parabolical way (that Style being generally used in the Eastern Parts) a Deluge of Vice and Disorder in the World, and a new Form of Government set on foot by some good Man; so they would conclude that *Moses* meant no more, and that no such thing as a general Deluge had ever been, there being no Records among the *Gentiles* of any such thing. I said, it's manifest the *Gentiles* meant no more by the Deluge they mention, than what is said, because it is very well known, the Deluges they mention, tho described as general over
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the whole Earth, as that of *Moses* is, were only little Deluges of particular Countries, which they, giving a loose to Fancy, extended at pleasure, to amuse the Vulgar, well knowing the Judicious would take them right. So, according to this, *Dr. Hyde* in his History of the Religion of the *Persians*, c. 9. tells us, that one *Kejomdras* was said by the *Indians* and *Persians* to be the Restorer and first Propagator of Mankind after a Deluge; which Fable meant only that *Kejomdras* being one of the Kings of the first Dynasties of the *Medes*, took that Kingdom out of the hands of the *Assyrians*, who had usurped it, and restored it to the *Medes*: whereupon, because he was the Restorer of that Empire and Religion, he was affirmed by them to be the Restorer of Mankind, or at least they were pleased so to style him, because he was the renowned Author of the Restoration to the *Median* and *Persian* World. So again, *Dr. Hyde* tells us, that *Ibis Shana*, an *Arabian*, writes in his Book concerning the first and last things, that there were some *Magi* who deny a Deluge, as the *Indians* and *Chineses*, and some other Oriental Nations: and that others of the *Magi* acknowledge a Deluge, but said it was not universal, nor passed beyond the Top of a Mountain near *Huldan*, a City in the Confines of *Assyria* and *Persia*.

But to return to the *Gentiles* above-mentioned; they would be free to own that a Deluge set forth with such Circumstances as that of *Moses* is, carries more of terrour in it, and more emphatically exaggerates a Judgment of God on a sinful World; it becoming a Divine Legislator so to do, the same being usual with the Prophets, as *Rabbi Elcha Ben-David* in his ingenious Tract *de Fine Mundi*, translated from the *Hebrew* into *Latin* by *Gaffarel*, well observes, concluding his Book thus: King *David*, and the rest of the Prophets, when they announce the Anger and Vengeance of God, do it by those things which

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strick the greatest terrour in the Minds of Men; as saying, it will be done with Flames of Pitch and Brimstone, tho' these things will not happen properly, and as the Letter says. So when *Isaiah* foretels a Vengeance against the *Idumeans*, he says the Rivers will be turn'd into Pitch, and the Earth into Sulphur, tho' these things did not happen in the Punishment of those *Idumeans*. The Prophets therefore, when they say it will rain Fire and Sulphur, understand only that God will chastise Sinners with severe Punishments: And other Authors have observed, that prophetick Denouncings have very often somewhat Hyperbolical in them; so that they are not always to be taken according to the Letter, and that those Hyperbolical Speeches are very usual in the Eastern Parts, of which many Instances may be given; and as for Parabolical Expressions used in the Scripture, *Father Simon* observes, that many Parables in them are set forth with such Circumstances, that Men would be apt to take them for real Truths, unless they were declared to be Parables. And as however particular *Moses* has been in the description of the Place of the terrestrial Paradise, we know the Allegorical Fathers laugh at those who seek after a corporeal Paradise, they concluding all that is said of Paradise must be understood allegorically. So I believe, however circumstantiated the Description given by *Moses* of the Deluge may be, many passing by the literal Sense, will adhere to the parabolical, they thinking this to be what Man ought chiefly to attend to. Indeed, if *Moses's* Deluge could be restrained to the Sense of the *Gentiles*, (a Point which I take not upon me to maintain, and leave it to others to consider whether, and how far it would derogate from the Dignity of the Scripture; if it were) it would save Christian Divines a world of Labour, in answering almost insuperable Difficulties which attend the Deluge, as commonly understood, according to the Letter,

unless they will have a continual Recourse to Miracles, which we know the learned *Gentiles* ridicule.

*Somnia, terrores Magicos, miracula, sagas,
Nocturnos Lemures, portentaque Thessala rident.*

The same Explanation also would have saved the Labours of many ingenious Men, who, finding their Understandings over-set by the Difficulties attending the Deluge, as literally set forth, have exerted their Efforts several Ways, by setting up *Hypotheses* for extricating themselves.

—————*Velut unda truditur undâ,
Sic varia exagitant altas molimina menses.*

Which brings to my mind what Mr. Saurin writes in the third Part of his *Examen* of M. Jurieu's *Theology*, p. 864. viz. I may say without Breach of Charity, that the most sublime and profound Wits are the most subject to give into Vision, to take Fancies for Realities, and to build Systems of odd Conceits and Chimera's. But to intimate some of those *Hypotheses*, some tell us, that the Waters of Deluge only affected *Palestine*, tho some *Rabbins* say that Country, thro' a particular Privilege, was free from those Waters. Some say that those Waters overflowed all *Asia*, and no more. Some again will have the Deluge to have happened by the Motion of a Comet near the Earth. Another says, he conceives the Deluge happened upon the Earth's changing its Center,

Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo ;

By reason of the Weight of the Waters which fell in *Asiu*, and chiefly in *Palestine*, unequally pressing it, and that thereupon the Ocean of the *Antipodes* sent up vast Inundations into the opposite Hemisphere ;
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which tho it might seem to imply a Failure of Waters, at that time, with the *Antipodes*, so that that Part of the World was not drown'd; yet admitting that the whole Globe of the Earth was not all overflowed at the same time, he says, that, by reason of the manifold Motions of the Waters, all the Mountains came successively to be covered. Another, doubtless with many Years Labour, has fram'd an Antediluvian Earth, seated over an Abyss of Waters, which Earth being cloven by the Heat of the Sun, at length, fell into the Abyss, which upon its overflowing, caused the Deluge: And this Author, in his Work, expresses so great an Assurance of his *Hypothesis*, that he doubted not but it would stand all Tryals, saying, that it carried in it more than a moral Certainty, and that he would give any Man thanks that would shew him any Failure in it; which, I think, I have effectually done in many respects, tho I never received thanks for it, nor did he think fit to offer any reply; as Men of Prudence are wont to be silent, when they find what is offered against them will not bear a Reply. But I have been told by some Persons who used to converse with the Author, that they heard him say, he did not think any Man could have offered so much against his *Hypothesis*, as I have done.

Dr. *Edwards*, in his new Discoveries relating to human Knowledge, published *An.* 1714. under the head of Natural Philosophy, tells us of a great and most valuable Demonstration of the universal Deluge, and of its Writer's profound Knowledge and Judgment, a *Specimen* of which Demonstration he had been favoured with a sight of; which, when finished, he says, will be one of the greatest Master-pieces of Natural Philosophy, and of all sorts of choice Literature that this Age has seen, or perhaps ever shall see. And now, after more than eight Years Expectation, we have that *Specimen*, as I suppose, published

under the Title of, *A third Edition of an Essay towards the Natural History of the Earth, &c.* where the Author gives some account of the universal Deluge, I cannot say a Demonstration of it; for he supposes the Deluge, as described by *Moses*, which he ingenuously owns to have been caused by Miracle, and says, pag. 183. that as Nature's System was then, and is still supported and established, a Deluge neither could then, nor can now happen naturally: And if so, it seems to me all *Hypotheses* and *Demonstrations* of the Deluge must be out of doors; for these must be grounded on Reasons, or seeming Reasons, drawn from Nature, and not from Omnipotence, or the first Cause, *ad quam, ut aiunt, turpe est Philosopho recurrere*; and indeed I think it as improper for Men to amuse themselves in setting up *Hypotheses*, or offering *Demonstrations* for making out the Deluge, and its Effects, farther than we have a plain Scripture Warrant for them, (as we have not for some Effects which the Author ascribes to the Deluge) as it would be to set up *Hypotheses* and *Demonstrations* for making out all the Miracles mentioned in the Scripture. So far am I from thinking any Hypothesis or pretended Demonstration in that kind to be a choice and valuable Piece of Literature. If *Moses* and *Zoroaster* have set forth the Creation in an Hypothetical way, it was only *ad usum captumque vulgi*, and not to make the thing out philosophically, as *Hypotheses* set up by Philosophers must do: And I believe when *Moses* writ what he has concerning the Creation and the Deluge, he did not think Men of Learning, knowing in Nature, and the Ways of Legislators, would go about to bring what he had writ under a Physiological Consideration in a publick way. But to proceed; the Author all along his Essay, often refers himself for making out many Positions he advances, to a larger Work which he intends to publish in due time; and in his Preface he desires those

those who do not easily apprehend the Connexion of his System, to have patience till that larger Work comes forth ; which Advice I should have been inclined to follow, only considering that Life being a contingent thing, possibly the World may never see that larger Work, as I never expect to see it myself, well knowing the time of my Dissolution to be near at hand : wherefore I thought it might not be an ungrateful thing to the Learned, if I gave them my thoughts concerning this Work, as it relates to the Deluge. And as I have amused myself many Years in Philosophical Studies, and am a Well-wisher to Natural History, I should be glad to contribute any thing, tho but a small Mite, toward a clear proceeding in it. Whereas the Author often refers to his larger Work for making out his Propositions, I shall not invidiously say, as perhaps some might,

Pollicitis dives quilibet esse potest :

Intimating as tho the Author never intended to publish the larger Work he mentions, for I am really persuaded he intends it ; but I must say, I doubt much whether he will ever be able to make good several of his Propositions, so as to satisfy those who duly inspect the Works of Nature. Not but I conceive all Men will own the Author has bestowed great pains in making Observations, and employed much thought in considering and digesting his Matter, and given considerable lights to many Parts of Natural History ; and I am so far from envying all due Applause to a Person who should help to clear our Understandings in Difficulties we lie under, as we consider many natural *Phænomena*, that I should highly congratulate his fortunate Success in it. It's no small Undertaking to set forth the whole Oeconomy of Nature as to this terrestrial Globe ; and I think he that attempts it, tho' he may fail in some Points of

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it, may still come off with honour by the Poet's Saying,

Magnis tamen excidit ausis.

The main Point the Author goes upon in his Work, is the Consideration of the marine Bodies found on all Parts of the Land round the Globe, and at all Depths in the Earth in digging, and how these Bodies were brought on the Land. And in the first Part of his Work, he examines the Opinions of former Writers on this Subject, the Means whereby they thought these marine Bodies were brought out upon the Earth, the Changes of Sea and Land, and other Alterations of the terraqueous Globe, which they supposed to have happened : and setting by all other Opinions as insufficient for such a Work, because the present Circumstances of these marine Bodies, he says, do not square with those Opinions, but exhibit *Phænomena* that thwart them, and give plain Indications they could have never been put into that Condition we now find them, by any such short and particular Agents as they propose ; he concludes they must have been brought forth on the Land by the universal Deluge. And in regard he judges the foresaid Circumstances are impartially related in his Observations, he says, he shall shew from them, and from the Number, Order, Variety, Situation, Depth, Distance from the Sea, and other Accidents of those Bodies, that they were not born out from the Sea, and laid upon the Land by any of the Causes assigned by others : And in the second Part of his Work, which is concerning the Universal Deluge, he sets forth that these marine Bodies were then left upon the Land, and the Effects the Deluge had upon the Earth ; for making out both which, he sets forth Historical Facts and Observations, which are too long for me to set down and examine here, I pretending at present only to a transient View of
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what is offered by several Persons concerning the Deluge; but whereas the Author has drawn Inferences from those Historical Facts and Observations which contain the main Doctrine he takes upon him to make good in his Work: and since I can neither see that all the Inferences are duly drawn, nor approve of the Doctrine they contain, I shall set down some of those Inferences, and subjoin a few Thoughts concerning them.

The first Inference is, That those marine Bodies were born forth of the Sea by the universal Deluge, and that upon the return of the Water back again from off the Earth, they were left behind at Land.

The second Inference sets forth the Effects the Deluge had upon the Earth, and the Alterations it made in the Globe, which were, that during the time of the Deluge, while the Water was out upon, and covered the terrestrial Globe, all the Stone and Marble of the Antediluvian Earth, all the Metals of it, all Mineral Concretions, and in a word, all Fossiles whatsoever, that had before obtained any Solidity, were totally dissolved, and that the said Corpuscles of these solid Fossiles, together with the Corpuscles of those Substances which were not before solid, such as Sand, Earth, and the like, as also all Animal Bodies, and Parts of Animals, Bones, Teeth, Shells, Vegetables, and part of Vegetables, Trees, Shrubs, Herbs, and all Bodies whatever that were either upon the Earth, or that constituted the Mass of it, to the greatest depth Men ever dig, were assumed up promiscuously into the Water, and sustained in it in such manner that the Water and Bodies in it together made up one common confused Mass.

Now, there being a Connection betwixt these two Inferences, I shall consider them together; and in what the Author lays down in his first Inference, and the ground he goes upon, he seems to me very precarious, notwithstanding all his Observations: for he
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here supposes, without any Proof, or telling us he lays it down as a *Postulatum*, that there were none of those Marine Bodies found upon the Earth, or in digging before the Deluge; whereas, I am inclined to believe, and see nothing from Scripture, History, or Reason to the contrary, That if an *Antediluvian* Philosopher could be raised from the Dead, he might satisfy us, that the same sorts of Marine Bodies were then found on the Earth, and in digging, as are now. And as it was above 2000 Years from the Creation to the Deluge, according to the *Septuagint* Chronology, (which, it seems, must be looked on as authentic, the Pope having allowed the Missioners in *China* to own that Chronology, to save them from being laugh'd at by the *Litterati* in that Nation) who knows what Changes might have passed betwixt Sea and Land in that time? And again, if the Author should propose that *Postulatum* to be allowed by the *Gentiles*, they would never yield to it; for tho they should admit what he contends for, *viz.* that there have been no very considerable Changes on the Face of the Earth since the Deluge, this signifies very little to them; for as they held the World to have been from Eternity (an Opinion which human Reason cannot overthrow, as *Aquinas* tells us, *Mundum capisse est credibile, non autem demonstrabile aut scibile*) there was time enough for the Sea and Land to have changed Places a Million of Times. And for want of Records, Man is never like to have the Satisfaction to know what Changes have pass'd between Sea and Land, but must content himself with conjectural Surmises.

As we consider how the Marine Bodies, according to the Author, were brought forth of the Sea by the universal Deluge, and left on the Land on the Return of the Water, we may note, the Author, p. 28. tells us, it's most certain, and the Relations of *divers* confirm it, that the Tydes, and Storms, even the

the most tempestuous and turbulent, affect only the superficial Parts of the Ocean, the Shallows and Shores, but never reach the great Depths, or disturb the Bottom of the Main; these are quiet and free from Commotion in the midst of Storms as in the greatest Calm; so that the Shell-Fish which are resident in these Places, live and die there, and are never dislodged or removed by Storms, nor cast upon the Shores, which those Fishes that live near the Shores are: And here the Author adds, he will prove at large in his greater Work, that some of the Shells of the Fishes that live in the greater Depths, or the Bottom of the Main, were also brought forth on the Land at the Deluge. Now if this be so, it must be concluded that the Commotions of the Waters at the Deluge were much more boisterous and violent than they have been ever since; and if so, I know not how this may well consist with what the Author writes, *p.* 286. *viz.* it is not any Paradox, notwithstanding the Dissolution of the Earth which happened at the Deluge, to suppose there was this or that Mineral in the same Part of the Globe afterwards, where it was before that happened. The Water of the Abyss indeed changed its place during that time, so did the Sea, and bore the Bodies it contain'd, many of them, out along with it: but the terrestrial Parts of the Globe, Metals, Minerals, Marble, Stone, and the rest, they, tho dissolved and assumed up into the Water, did not stir or remove far; but at the great general Subsidence, settled down again in or near the same Place, from which they were before taken up: for the Water was all out upon the Face of the Earth before ever these stirred, or were fetched up out of their native Beds, and they were all sunk down into the same Beds again before the Water began to shift away back to its old Quarters, so that it could not contribute any thing to the removal of them; and the Water

ter was in great measure clear, and disengaged from the earthy Mass before it went off: and it was well it was so, for had not the Mineral Matter of the Globe been held to its former Station, but hurried about, and transposed from place to place, 'tis scarcely to be conceived how many and great Inconveniencies it would have occasioned. The same likewise for Vegetables; had the Seeds of the Pepper Plant, the Nutmeg, the Clove, or the Cinnamon Trees, been borne from *Java*, *Banda*, the *Molucca's* and *Ceylon*, to the Northern Countries, they must have starv'd for want of Sun; or had the Seeds of our colder Plants shifted thither, they would have been burnt up and spoiled by it: but things generally kept to their proper Places, to their native Soil and Climate, which had they not done, all would have been confounded and destroyed. So far the *Essay*.

We see here the Author makes the Waters of the Deluge tempestuous and calm at his pleasure; tempestuous, to remove the Shells from the deepest Parts of the Sea upon the Land; calm, to keep the dissolved Metals and the Seeds of Vegetables to their respective Posts without straying: the reason of which Tempests and Calms, perhaps we may know hereafter. Indeed, as the Author truly says, it was well the Mineral Matter held to its former Station, and was not hurried about, and transposed from place to place, because it would have occasioned great Inconveniencies; which Inconveniencies, tho he does not name, I will tell him one: The Fishes could not have lived where such a *Menstruum* as dissolved all Metals and Minerals prevailed; nor could their Spawn be preserved in it, nor even the Seeds of Vegetables; and it looks a little awkward for the Author to suppose that all Metals, and the other Bodies mentioned in his second Inference, were dissolved and assumed up promiscuously into the Water, and sustained in it in such manner that the Water, and the Bodies in it

together made up one common Mass ; and that this *Menstruum* which dissolved these Bodies, must have stood hovering over the Place where the Metals were originally lodg'd, till it let them fall again into their old Places, and in their old Form of solid Ores and regular Beds. And, as he tells us, *p.* 284. that Metals and Minerals were no less plenty before the Deluge than now ; they must have been dispers'd then, more or less round the whole Globe, as they are now, and it would seem no less than the calling in of a Miracle to determine that *Menstruum* after such a particular manner as always to attend the Metals and Minerals, without dispersing itself throughout the whole Mass.

Again, tho' the Author tells us the Seeds of Vegetables were not carried by the Waters of the Flood from their native Seats, yet, he says, *pag.* 80. there are found in the *Strata* of the Earth, the Bones of all the Parts of Land-Animals, and often of such as are not Natives of the Countries in which they are found ; as the Skeletons of very great Elephants in *England*, and also incredibly large Horns of the *Moose-Deer*, a Creature not known to be now living in any Country but *America*. So, *pag.* 81. he tells us, there are dug up in some Northern Islands great numbers of Trees, and many of them very large, in which Islands there are at this day growing no Trees at all, and where, by reason of the great Cold of those Countries, 'tis probable none ever did, or could grow. Now if these ponderous Trees and Animals were brought by the Deluge from we know not how remote Countries, how comes it that the light Vegetable Seeds were not stirr'd from their native Soil and Climates ?

The Nature of the *Menstruum* also ought to be considered, which the Author affirms to have dissolved all the Mineral and Metalline Bodies at the Deluge. If a Man melts a Pound of Lead, he has his Lead again ; but if he melts a Pound of Ore, he will never

have his *Ore* again, tho he may have some Metal from it. And I would gladly be informed by the Author, whether Chymistry furnishes any *Menstruum* which will dissolve *Ores*, so that they can become solid *Ores* again; as he supposes all the *Ores* were dissolved at the Deluge, and became solid *Ores* again after they subsided as the Deluge was almost over. I was many Years since at the House of my late honoured Friend *William Stroud Esq;* at *Street*, two Miles from *Glastonbury* in *Somersetshire*, who carried me into his Laboratory, and shewed me a piece of *Pottern Ore*, which he then took out of a *Menstruum*, in a Galley-pot, nor did he conceal from me what the *Menstruum* was; he shewed me also some running *Mercury*, which he then took out of the said *Menstruum*, and had been drawn from the *Ore* by the *Menstruum*: but it must not be thought, if the *Menstruum* had dissolved the whole Body of the *Ore*, it could ever return to *Ore* again. We call that *Ore*, *Pottern-Ore*, because it's used by Potters to glaze their Earthen Vessels, and is the mildest sort of *Lead-Ore*, that is, the easiest to yield to the Fire, or to a *Menstruum*, of any dug on *Mendip-Hills*.

If the Author thinks he has fairly made out what he lays down in one of his Observations, or historical Facts, viz. that in all Parts of the Earth the *Strata* are compiled, and the marine Bodies disposed in them every where after the same Method, and so as apparently to shew things were reduced into this Method in all Countries at the same time, and by the same means; I doubt he will not easily persuade others to it: For tho we may allow him that the marine Bodies found in the *Strata* of the Earth were every where lodged there after the same method, and by the same means, I cannot see any thing cogent to allow that they were placed there in all Countries at the same time; for tho Plants grow every where, by the Influence of the Sun, after the same method, and by the

the same means, they do not grow alike in all Countries at the same time; and if the Sun has not so general an Operation on the Earth, as to make Plants to flourish in all Countries at the same time, much less may it be expected that any other Cause should operate over the whole Globe at the same time, so as to dissolve all subterraneous Bodies to receive Sea-Shells and other Substances into them. Wherefore I think it more probable that Sea-Shells have been gradually enchac'd in Stones and Mineral Bodies by partial Changes in all Parts of the Globe, as Matter has been gradually prepared both at Sea and Land for receiving them: And it is my opinion, that all Stones and solid Bodies which contain Sea-Shells within them, received them into them upon their original Concretion from an embrionate State, and were not dissolved at the Deluge to receive them, as the Author contends; and as those embrionate Substances are prepared more or less in all Parts of the Sea and Land, I conceive they are chiefly prepar'd at Sea, where the sub-marine Ferments are so strong, that they emit Blasts of Fire, cast up Islands, &c. and at Land, especially where the Mountains, tho now far from the Sea, continue the Protrusion begun, while the Sea covered the Countries where they are, and where, through the Strength of Ferments, Eructations often happen both in Mountains, and even in lower Lands, by which Trees and other Bodies are swallowed up in the Earth, and large and deep Swallow-Pits appear on the Land, in the Bottoms of which, if Men dig, they find the Trees so swallowed up; not a few of which Pits are found on *Mendip-Hills* in *Somersetshire*, with those subterraneous Trees found in the Bottoms of some of them: and I doubt not but the like Pits are frequent where any other considerable Mines are.

I shall proceed now to the Author's third Inference, which is, that, at length, all the Mass that

was born up in the Water, was again precipitated and subsided towards the Bottom ; that this Subsidence happened generally, and as near as possibly could be expected in so great a Confusion, according to the Laws of Gravity : that Matter, Body, or Bodies which had the greatest quantity or degree of Gravity, subsiding first in order, and falling lowest ; that which had the next, or a still lesser degree of Gravity, subsiding next after, and settling upon the precedent, and so on ; and that the Matter subsiding thus, form'd the *Strata* of Stone, of Marble, of Coal, of Earth, and of all the rest.

Now on this Inference I have many things to offer : First, Whereas the Author supposes that the Earth, and all the Bodies belonging to it, except Vegetables, and the Parts of Animals, being dissolved at the Deluge, settled again towards the end of it, some lower and some higher, according to their specific Gravity ; this, in general, is contrary to my Observations, tho sometimes Beds are placed according to such Gravity : and tho, I believe, if any Man will make trial, by digging either on Mountains or Plains, he will as often find in sinking Beds of a light Substance under Beds of a more ponderous Substance, as on the contrary ; yet I think it most proper to consider this in Mines, where Nature seems to keep a greater regularity than elsewhere. And I think it not easy to conceive how, according to the Author's *Hypothesis*, the Particles of Metalline Ores, which are the most ponderous Fossiles we know of, should have settled themselves on the highest Parts of the Earth, viz. in Mountains, and many times near the Surface of the Earth there, in those Veins *Agricola* calls *Venæ Subdiales*. If we consider the *Rakes* which contain Metalline Ores, where the Beds of those Ores, and of the other *Fossiles*, which we call *Rake-fill*, stand either perpendicular to the *Horizon*, or lie in some degree of Obliquity to it, we shall find, that
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in the first Formation of those *Strata*, and of the Clifts that bound them on either side, (which all Men will judge to have been formed together) there was little regard to Gravity; and this, whether those *Strata* were originally form'd in an *Horizontal* Position, as the Author seems to think, or from an embrionated Earth, as some will have it, in that perpendicular, or oblique Position we find them: for if they were originally form'd in an *Horizontal* Position, how comes it that, if a respect were had to Gravity in their Formation, the Particles of the Metalline *Ores*, which are much more ponderous than those of the Clifts which bound them on either side, (whether those Clifts consist of Limestone, or Slates, or Tile) did not sink beneath the Particles of the under Clift in their Formation? If the Metalline *Ores* in *Rakes* were form'd from an embrionate Earth in the perpendicular or oblique Position we find them, how comes it that in sinking for *Ores* in those perpendicular and oblique *Strata*, we often find the *Strata*, where *Ores* are, made up interchangeably of Earths, *Ores*, Spars, Croötes, and other Fossiles; and that the *Ores*, which are the most ponderous, do not always, as they ought, settle in the lowest Place? Upon the whole, I find no more regard to Gravity in the Formation of Minerals, than in that of Animals and Vegetables: We have a Maxim in *Physicks*, *Spiritu distenta omnia pro generis affinitate distant*. So that the *Archæus*, or forming Spirit of the various Minerals in the Earth, has no more regard to Gravity, than the forming Spirits in the Seeds of Animals and Vegetables have in the Formation of the several Substances of which their Bodies consist. If you converse with Miners, they will tell you, there are both Quick and Dead *Rakes*; and that the Quick are so call'd, not only because they contain metalline *Ores*, but likewise because the Earths and Stones in those *Rakes* are generally of a
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more vivid Colour than in the dead Rakes, a strong vivifying Spirit ascending in them ; and I believe that those who do not consider the Energy of a forming Spirit in the Earth, beside Gravity, will not reason rightly concerning it ; tho Gravity many times may account for the Position of some *Strata*, where the Particles have not been expanded by the forming Spirit.

As I have mentioned a forming Spirit, it naturally leads me (tho a little beside the Point in hand) to consider the Hypothesis, which a Person of great Thought has published for solving the *Phænomena* of the World, so that supposing only Gravity and Magnetism, or Traction, he proceeds to account how all things are in the Site we find them ; but I know not how far Men may be led to acquiesce in this, or any other Hypothesis which may be offered in that kind : for if in the Formation of the *Microcosm* we find it beyond the reach of Man to comprehend and account for the *Rationes seminales à causis superioribus, seu à primo conditore directas*, which are the Sources of all its Actions, much more must this be said in the Formation of the Universe : So that after all Efforts, it seems, poor Man, in the search [of Nature, must be content to sit down with an humble *nil scitur*, or at least with what the learned *Morhoff* says, in his *Dissert. de Paradoxis Sensuum*, c. 2. *Relinquenda est multò maxima pars Phænomenorum physicorum occultioribus quibusdam causis quæ ab humano ingenio satis deprehendi non possunt ;* which occult Causes are the *Je-ne-sçay-quoi*, the *dernier Resort*, or last Appeal in such Enquiries. *Socrates* plainly found this, and wonder'd others did not, and therefore laid by such Researches, and wholly apply'd himself to Morality ; and many of the ancient Philosophers found the same : And if God has pleased so to frame human Understanding, that it must be always kept in doubt, we must be contented with it.

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But to return to the Author of the Essay, he tells us, in the fourth part of his Work, which treats concerning the Formation of Metals and Minerals, p. 238. he shall make an enquiry, in his larger Work, why Metals and Minerals lie sometimes so near the Surface, and did not, because of their great Gravity, at the general Subsidence in the Deluge, fall to a much greater Depth than we now find them, even to such a depth as to have lain quite out of human Reach, and so have been all buried and irrecoverably lost. For which Enquiry we must wait the Author's leisure and pleasure; in which, perhaps, he may offer some Answer to the Objection I have made before, *viz.* how the ponderous Ores come to be always plac'd above the lighter Cliffs in their first Formation.

There is one thing also, concerning which I would willingly be inform'd by the Author, *viz.* whether in Coal-works, where there is a Regularity observed, as well as in Mines, he has observed that generally the upper Clift, which hangs, or lies over the Coal, be of a lighter Substance than the Coal itself.

Neither do we find in the Cut of the *Fountains of Modena*, given us by *Ramazzini*, that the *Strata* there, in sinking, are placed according to the respective Gravity of the Substances of which they are composed; but interchangeably, the lighter and more ponderous, the one over and under the other. I could produce Instances enough in this kind; but here we are got into a Subject in which few are acquainted, and there must be an Appeal to Miners, Colliers, and other subterraneous Adventurers.

As to the fourth Inference, I leave it to the Author's Supposition, and to be made out when he pleases.

To the fifth Inference, *viz.* as to the general *Strata's* of the Earth composed of the Sediment of the great confused Mass, being plain, even, and regular,
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and the Surface of the Earth being even and spherical, and not interrupted or broken, and the whole Mass of the Waters lying above them all, and constituting a fluid Sphere invironing the whole Globe ; I say, tho this may do well in Fancy and a Mathematical Abstraction, I cannot conceive how, in Fact, so vast a Globe of Earth as this is, whether cover'd with a Sphere of Waters or not, should be more even, spherical, and less interrupted and broken than it is at present ; the greatest Mountain on the Earth not being so much to the whole Globe, as a Grain of Sand is to a Globe of three Feet Diameter : so that Man cannot make any thing proportionally so evenly round as the Earth now is. And this also, I think, may satisfy, as to what is said in the Author's sixth, seventh, and eighth Inferences, which relate to the same thing. And these are his chief Inferences ; after which he says, that by a careful and deliberate Examination of all the Circumstances of those Marine Bodies, he was abundantly convinced they could not have come into those Circumstances by any other Means, than such a Dissolution of the Earth, and Confusion of Things. And in the Conclusion of the second Part of his Book, he tells us, that in his larger Work he shall particularly consider and prove many Particulars which he there sets down, and which, if I live to see well made out, I must say,

Et erit mihi magnus Apollo.

Mean while, I wish some may not look on it as a Banter put on the World, when they see so many paradoxical Propositions advanced, as we find throughout the Author's Book, and all to be made out hereafter. *Kulmannus* writ a Letter to *Athanasius Kircher*, in which he told him of many wonderful Discoveries he intended to publish ; *Kircher*, in his Answer, advised him to forbear amusing Men with such Notions, *Ne octavus sapientum audiret.*

One Particular the Author says he will prove, is, That Sand-Stone does not now grow by *Juxta-position*, as they speak; that is, by a continual Addition of new Matter; nor in like manner as the Bodies of Animals and Vegetables grow and are augmented, as others are of opinion.

As to this, the late Mr. *John Aubrey*, S. R. S. told me, that at *Avery* in *Wiltshire*, two great Stones, which are of the Sand-kind, stand up high above the Ground, betwixt which, within the Memory of Man, a Coach and Horses could pass; whereas now, those Stones, keeping still their erect Posture, a Man on horseback cannot pass betwixt them. Now, as these Stones must have grown, I doubt Men will be uneasy to stay till hereafter to know how they grow. A Man would think it must have been either by drawing outwardly an Addition of Substance from the Air, or by an inward Protrusion of Parts, as they drew a Supply of Substance from the Earth. As for the Truth of the Relation, a Man may be satisfied from the old Inhabitants of *Avery*; and I may here note, that the many Stones which are seen standing above the Ground at *Avery*, are of the same Grott with those at *Stonehenge*, both having undoubtedly been taken from the great Stones called the *Weathers*, lying on the Downs betwixt *Marlborough* and *Avery*.

It may farther be observed, that the Author's *Hypothesis* seems somewhat allied to those of *Gonzales*, *Cartes*, and the late *Dr. Burnett*; a smooth and even Orb of the Earth must be made, of we know not what Depth; couch'd on the face of an Abyss, reaching we know not whither: and this Orb must be broken in due time to make the *Nothings* call'd Mountains, and other seeming Unevennesses of the Earth. And tho the Author says Mountains were not raised successively, and at several times, being flung up or elevated by Earthquakes; I must believe that all the

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burning Mountains on the Earth have been raised by a subterraneous Mover: and I think it as natural and rational for us to believe, that so powerful a Mover as appears to reign in those Mountains, may as easily raise a Mountain, as a Mole may a Molehill, tho the gradual Rise of those Mountains has not been observed. And if that Mover can overthrow Mountains, of which there are Instances enough, why may it not raise them? So *Pliny* writes, *l. 2. c. 86. Nascentur alio modo terræ, ac repente in aliquo Mari emergunt, veluti parva secum faciente natura, quæque hauserit hiatus, alio loco reddat.* So, tho the Author is positive in telling us, *p. 55.* contrary to the Sense and certain Knowledge of the Antients, that *Therassia* and other Islands were not raised by a subterraneous Mover; we find *Seneca, l. 6. Nat. Quæst. c. 21.* writes thus: *Therassiam nostræ ætatis insulam, spectantibus navitis in Ægæo Mari natam, quis dubitat quin in lucem spiritus vexerit?* Now, whom must we believe here? *Seneca* was a Man of no small Repute, and relates a notorious Fact happening in his time; which, had it been false, he would have exposed himself to be contradicted and ridiculed by every little Companion: or must we believe a Person, who, without any Proof, after so many Ages, tells us, there was no such thing? And who, I think, with the like Assurance, might as well call in question the Truth of a late Island's being cast up near the *Canaries*. I shall proceed a little farther on this Subject, and declare it my Opinion, That not only the burning Mountains, but the other Mountains also, which contain Marine Bodies in them, and even the whole Earth, have been gradually protruded from the Sea, according to the Sense of *Manilius, l. 1. p. 6. v. 12.*

*Emersere fretis montes, orbisque per undas
Exiliit, vasto clausus tamen undique ponto.*

*The Mountains from the Sea emerg'd, and all
The Earth ; the Sea surrounding still the whole.*

And according to which Opinion, I conceive the Marine Bodies in the Earth are more naturally accounted for, than by the Author's way ; an embryonate Earth being always prepared by the Sea to receive those Shells and their Impressions : and can any Man think the vast Body of the Terraqueous Globe less able, thro subterraneous Ferments, to protrude Mountains, than the Body of Man, in a Fever, is able to protrude the Pustules of the Small Pox, or those of a common Itch, which are each of them infinitely greater in proportion to the Body of Man, than the others are proportionably to the Body of the Earth ? And indeed the Use of Mountains being considered for supplying the Earth with Water, by the Rivers rising from them, we cannot but conclude that one of the great Offices of the Sea has been to prepare Matter to be protruded by sub-marine Ferments, according to the Exigency of the Earth. And notwithstanding the Author tells us, *p. 58.* that when he first directed his Thoughts this way, 'twas a matter of real Admiration to him to find that a Belief of so many and so great Alterations in the Earth had gain'd so large footing, and made good its ground so many Ages in the World, there being not the least Signs nor Footsteps of any such thing on the whole Face of the Earth ; no tolerable Foundation for such a Belief, either in Nature or History : I say, notwithstanding this, I believe the Opinion which the Author goes about to explode, will hold as long as the World lasts ; tho I am not ignorant that some late *German* Writers abett the Author's Hypothesis in part, *viz.* as to the Marine Bodies being brought forth upon the Land by *Noah's* Flood, and have somewhat forestalled his Matter. I am not here at leisure to discourse at large what Changes have been on the

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Earth, but we have Evidences enough there have been many, and we must consider that Nature proceeds by gentle degrees in her Operations; and notwithstanding the Magisterial Assurance with which the Author runs on throughout his whole Book, I must be of opinion, many Men of Thought will never be brought to believe, that Nature did such a Work as he contends for at one Job. And whereas he tells us, *p. 93.* that when he considered the Effects of the Deluge according to his *Hypothesis*, it appeared at first so wonderful and surprizing to him, that he was for some time at a stand; I suppose it will not seem strange to him, if other Men take time to consider whether the Motives which determined him to adhere to his *Hypothesis*, are weighty enough to determine them. And as he supposes there were no marine Shells on the Land before the Deluge, he may do well to tell us plainly whether he be of opinion that no Sea-Shells have been incased in Stone, &c. since the Deluge, for it should follow from his *Hypothesis* that they have not. And as he tells us, *p. 123.* that Sand-Stone does not still consolidate, that is, that Matter which was a few Years ago lax, incoherent, and in form of Earth or Sand, does not become daily more hard and consistent, and by little and little acquire a perfect Solidity, as some have asserted: this, I say, seems to abett that Opinion, and in other words to tell us, that the petrifying Faculty is ceased in Nature; which would be a piece of News in Natural Philosophy, but such as will require a stronger Confirmation, than I believe we shall ever receive. I have seen, in the side of a Hill in the Southern Part of *Wiltshire*, a Bed of light Cockle-Shells, of about two Foot thick, lodg'd betwixt Beds of a loose and brittle Sand-Stone; and if any Man shall tell me those Shells were suspended, and consequently sever'd from each other in the fluid Mass, which is said to have overflown the Globe of Earth at the Deluge,

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and that, at length, they subsided in such a regular Bed, I cannot conceive it : and there are Thousands of such regular Beds of Shells, which demonstrate the same Moral, and, I think I may say, Physical Impossibility. Whereas, if we allow either that the Sea had covered that Hill for a considerable time, and that the Shells were formed there from the Fishes to which they belong ; or that those Beds were protruded from the Deep, it no way interferes with our Reason. Again, I am well satisfied there are Risings and Subsidings in several Parts of the Land, though commonly no notice is taken of them. A Gentleman residing not far from the *Bath*, told me, that if a Person stood at a certain Gate, not far from his Abode, within the Memory of Man he could not see the Top of the Roof of a Gentleman's House standing at some distance from it ; whereas now, a Person standing at the said Gate, can plainly see the Foundation of that House. And other Instances may be given of this kind. I shall only take notice of one thing more, which the Author says he proves from Observations made from himself, or others, *viz.* That the bottoms of deep Mines are very sultry, and the Stones and Ores there very sensibly hot, even in the Winter and the colder Seasons.

Now, as to this, tho *Dr. Brown*, as I remember, in his Account of the Mines at *Cremnits*, tells us, some of them are very hot at great Depths, yet this does not hold generally ; for the Heat of Mines does not proceed from their Depths, but from the Nature of the Fossiles that are in them, at whatever Depths those Fossiles are found. I remember about forty Years since, two ingenious Miners made a Tryal for *Lead Ore* at a Place called *Black-Down*, near *Taunton*, in *Somersetshire*, who told me, they sank there in a green Sand, and at two or three Fathom Depth, they found it so hot, they could scarce bear it. And so, as to Damps in Mines, they happen not always
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at great Depths, for I have been told by some Miners on *Mendip-Hills*, in the said County, that they have sunk there in some Places, where a Candle would not burn at two or three Fathom depth.

I find that which led the Author to conclude that deep Mines are hot, is, the *Hypothesis* he goes on, of a central or abyssine Fire; whence he writes, *p.* 161. that the *Thermæ*, natural Baths, or hot Springs, do not owe their Heat to any Colluctation, or Effervescence of the Minerals in them, as some Naturalists have believed, but to a subterraneous Fire, the Origin and Oeconomy of which, he says, *p.* 158. he will give an exact Account of in his larger Work.

Now, tho many Men favour the *Hypothesis* of a central Fire, and other subterraneous Fires derived from it; and among others, the learned *Kircher*, in his *Mundus Subterraneus*, has writ at large on that Subject: I cannot wholly agree with him in it, nor with what the Author here says. For I see not why there may not be a Colluctation and Effervescence among several Minerals in the Earth, (a Doctrine abetted by some Chymical Experiments) so as to heat the Water of Baths, and even to break out in open Fires, as such a Colluctation and Effervescence, and even an open Fire often happens from several Plants laid together in a Hay-stack; and Men may as well tell me, that the Fire of a Hay-stack is caused by a Communication from the central Fire of the Earth, as the Heat of Baths and in Mines, tho I may allow a Communication of some *Vulcano's*, at great Depths in the Earth, which are very distant from each other on the Face of the Earth. But what I contend for, is, That there are many distinct Ferments in the Earth, sufficient for heating Bath-Waters, and breaking out into open Fires, without any Communication with a supposed Fire in the Center or an Abyss.

Dr. *Jordan*, in his Book of *Natural Baths*, c. 2. writes, That there is a Spirit or Ferment in Mineral Substances, as in Allum and Copperas Mines, which being broken, exposed and moistned, will gather an actual Heat. *Agricola*, *Erastus*, *Libavius*, &c. avouch from the Experience of *Miners*, that in most Places Mines are so hot, they can hardly be touch'd; tho, it's likely, where they work for perfect Minerals, the Heat which was in the Fermentation, while they were yet breeding, is much abated, the Minerals being now grown to their Perfection. And for this Heat, we need not call for subterraneous Fires, the in-bred Heat being sufficient, as may appear also by the Ore of *Tin-Glass*, which being dug up, and laid in the moist Air, will become very hot. So Arsenick and Sublimate, being mixed together, will grow so hot, they are not to be touched; and if this be so in little Quantities, it's likely to be much more so in great Quantities. So far Dr. *Jordan*. Many Years since I bought an Ounce of the Spirit of *Vitriol*, at the Apothecaries Hall; when the Man, of whom I bought it, had poured it into a Glass, and weighed it, I told him I would have it discoloured: whereupon he dropt into it some Drops of the Spirit of Sulphur; upon which, tho they are two of the greatest Acids we know, they presently so fermented, that they crack'd the Glass, and the Man, after the Ferment was over, poured it into another Glass.

You may see Instances more than enough of this kind in the *Traët, de Thermis Carolinis*, writ by Dr. *Bergerus*, Professor of Physick at *Wittenberg*, c. 5, 6. who, in the sixth Chapter, writes, There is an Aluminous Earth near the River *Mulda*, betwixt *Leipsick* and *Wittemberg*, not far from the Town of *Duben*, which Earth being pregnant with the Stones called *Pyrites*, when it is dug up and cast into great Heaps, does not only conceive a vehement Heat, but soon breaks out in an open Fire. So, to explain how the
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Motion and Action of the Sulphur on the Iron, which are joined in the *Pyrites*, is stirred up, he proposes this Experiment. If you pound common Sulphur to a Powder, and mix with it an equal Quantity of Filings of Iron, and add Water to them, and work and knead them together till they have the Consistency of a Paste, as Meal has, mix'd with Water; you will find the Sulphur will work on the Iron, and, in a few hours space, they will grow hot, and emit a sulphureous Smoak and Odour, and soon break out in an open Flame. And I am clearly of the opinion of *Bergerus*, that the various kinds of the *Pyrites* are the chief Ingredients for causing all subterraneous Heats and Fires. And I have seen, in several Mines, perpendicular Beds of those *Pyrites*, sometimes a Foot, sometimes two Foot thick, and more. And if any Man goes to the *Bath*, and knows the Smell of a burning *Pyrites*, he will easily perceive the *Bath-Water* has a rank Smell of the *Pyrites*.

If I should proceed with what I have to offer on the Author's *Essay*, I must write a Book as large as his of it, which would be much beyond the short View I intended; in which, I think, I have exceeded already: neither have I Thoughts of writing farther on it, my Hand much failing me in writing, and it not agreeing with my present Circumstances to keep an *Amanuensis*, neither will my Spirits long bear a due Attention. I believe many Persons may wish the Author would hasten to make out the many Assertions he has advanc'd, whereby the World might partake of some of the great Lights he has in the Knowledge of Nature; which, if he delays, it hazards their being baulk'd for ever in their great Expectations, and no small Glory may be lost to himself.

Having mentioned a little before *Mendip-Hills* in *Somersetshire*, I cannot think of those Hills without some Resentment: I have by me a Transcript of all
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the *Mineral Laws* belonging to those Hills, which I took from the Books lodg'd in the hands of the *Lead-Reeves* belonging to the four *Lords-Royal*, to whom the Body of those Hills belongs; to which *Laws* I have writ a Preface, giving a general account of those Hills, both relating to the Mines and the Herbage: which *Laws* and *Preface* I intended to have printed in the *Natural History* of that County, which was recommended by some Gentlemen of the *Royal Society*, to be undertaken by me. And accordingly I printed a Draught of my Design, and attended the Parliament-men of that County here in *London* with it, who seem'd inclined to favour it; but it being in the Reign of the late King *James*, when People were generally uneasy, and the Disturbance of *Monmouth's* Rebellion falling chiefly on that County, it discouraged me in it: and farther, tho I believe the Gentlemen of the *Royal Society* were sincere in their Recommendation, I found there was another Party of Men, who, for Reasons known to themselves, were resolved to obstruct my Proceedings in it, and by some clandestine Practices, let me know it after a severe manner; the same Party having pursued me ever since with a far greater Severity, if we must call so, a continual thwarting all our worldly Concerns; which notwithstanding, (if I may be believed) has no way affected me, I never having sought worldly Advantages; and if at any time Fortune has thrown them on me, I think I have shewn great Indifferency in that respect. I beg the Reader's pardon for this short Digression, and shall only add, that *Somersetshire* deserves a good Natural History, it having a great diversity of Soil, and considerable Antiquities, and it affords two considerable Heads of Natural History, which *Dt. Plot* had not in his Histories of *Oxfordshire* and *Staffordshire*; I mean the Heads of Mines, and the Sea: the first of which every Man cannot undertake, for he ought to know the Terms of the Miners, and their Ways

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of working, and to have made due Observations in Mines; which things will require some Time. If any Man desires to know the Etymology of the word *Mendip*, I may acquaint him that some write it *Mendif*, and otherways; but doubtless it is originally a *British* word, *Myndidd* in the *British* signifying a Mountain, as you may see in Dr. Davis's *British Dictionary*, where I first observed it, no Man having given me any intimation of it, nor has any Man, as far as I know, taken notice of this Etymology: and the highest Hill on *Mendip-Hills*, which stands above *Wells*, is called *Pen-hill*, the word *Pen* being also *British*, and signifies a Head; so that *Pen-hill* is the Head Hill. But to return now to my Subject.

Having intimated, before I took notice of the several *Hypotheses* concerning the Deluge, the great Difficulties which both Divines and Philosophers meet with in making it out according to the Letter, I shall here set down some of those Difficulties. Some learned Men have set forth, and I think not without reason, that there must have been the quantity of ten Oceans of Waters to reach 15 Cubits above the highest Mountains; which Waters, Nature could not furnish, without Miracle, nor get rid of them for the Deluge to cease. As for what the Author of the *Essay* before-mentioned has intimated, that an Abyss furnished those Waters, when he has told us how those Waters came upon the Earth, we shall know what to reply. Some maintain, and I think it not easy to refute them, that the numerous Species of Animals peculiar to *America*, and never seen in other Parts of the World, could not have come to the Ark, at the beginning of the Deluge to have been there preserved, without Miracle, nor pass back into *America*, when it was over; and this, both on the account of the Distance and Impassableness of the Way, and the Difference of the Climates, which all those Animals could not bear; besides the

Unaccountableness how all the differing Species of Animals throughout all the Parts of the Earth, should have intelligence that *Noah* was building an Ark to save himself and Family, and a few of each Species of Animals, and that they must render themselves there for that end. Was it by a Prophetick Instinct, or by Angelical Ministry? Besides, it seems strange that not one of the many Species of Animals peculiar to *America* should have remained here after the Flood was over, but that all of them should return. Indeed *Rabbi Tanchuma* tells us, when God bid *Noah* to take into the Ark 7 Pairs of all clean Animals, *Noah* asked God how he should gather them together into the Ark. Whereupon, all the Angels presiding over every Species of Animals, descended and gathered them together, and Food for them: So that this Point is accounted for, if we take his word. Some of the *Rabbins* seem to laugh Men out of the literal Sense of the Deluge, when they tell us, that *Ogg* King of *Basan*, a Remnant of the Giants, rid astride on the Ark all the time of the Deluge, having sworn to *Noah* and his Sons, he would be their eternal humble Servant, and that *Noah* bored a Hole in the Ark, and daily supply'd him with Provisions through that Hole; and some say *Methusalem* rode there also, whom the Septuagint will have to have lived fourteen Years after the Deluge. Some *Rabbins* say the Waters of the Deluge were all scalding hot, except it were those near the Ark, which were kept cold by Miracle, lest they should melt the Pitch used about the Ark: And according to this opinion, they held that all the Fishes were destroyed; and indeed, tho the Waters of the Deluge were not hot as they say, it's hard to conceive, how they should be so qualify'd, that both Fresh and Salt-Water Fishes should live in them, and all the amphibious Animals must have been involved in the general Destruction. *Rabbi Solomon* tells us,

that when *Noah* sent the Crow out of the Ark, the Crow flew about the Ark, and would not depart from it, fearing some of the Birds in the Ark might be too fond of his Mate in his Absence. Another tells us of a Dialogue betwixt *Noah* and the Crow; the Crow asked *Noah* why among all the Birds and Beasts in the Ark, he alone must be sent abroad; that *Noah* answered, that the Crow being an unclean Animal, the World could well spare him, being neither good for Food nor Sacrifice: That God interposed, and represented to *Noah*, that in future times the Crow would be of great use, especially in the time of *Elias* the *Tisbite*, to whom he would send the Crow to feed him; and therefore the Crow should be spared, and kept for better Times. Again, some will ask what became of all the burning Mountains at the time of the Deluge, if the Waters were 15 Cubits above them; doubtless they would make a sad sputter, and cause strange Convulsions in the Earth, before they would be extinguished, especially if there be a Communication betwixt those *Volcano's* at so great a Depth in the Earth, as some affirm; who are led to such belief, because it has been observed, as the learned *Itigius* in his Book, *de Montium Incendiis*, informs us, that some burning Mountains of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *America*, have broken forth at the same time: I shall add, that those Breathing-Holes of burning Mountains are of greater consequence for the Subsistence of the Earth than some may imagine. If any Man should say there were no Mountains before the Flood, as some have asserted that Opinion, they expose their Ignorance, as to the Works of Nature, not having considered the absolute Necessity and indispensable Use of Mountains on the Earth; and they may consider what *Scaliger* says against *Cardan*, *Exerc. 43. De Montium Origine quærit; quærat is quoque de Maris, Cæli, & aliorum; nam pie delirant profecto quidam, qui ex Diluvio raptam sub-*
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ductamque terram deterfosque Montes ab Aquis in Mare præcipitantibus prodiderunt. They may also do well to tell us from some authentick Records, when *Ætna*, *Vesuvius*, and many other famous burning Mountains had their first Eruption; for till this be done, many will be inclined to think the time of their first Eruption was more antient than the time substituted for the Deluge. *Itigius* and *Crucius* are the two best Authors I have met with concerning burning Mountains, the former, in his Book *de Montium Incendiis*; the latter in his *Vesuvius ardens*; having examined all the Authors they could meet with concerning those Eruptions, could not find any certain Records concerning it. They tell us of some Intervals of the burning of those Mountains, but do not satisfy us concerning their first Eruptions. And *Crucius* declares it his Opinion, *pag. 47.* that *Vesuvius* was a burning Mountain from its first Formation, or a little after; and *Kircher* maintains that there were subterraneous Fires created with the Earth from the beginning, and distributed throughout the Universe, continually burning, and drawing the Air thro the Fissures, or Orifices of Mountains, for their Support, and purging themselves by a discharge of Smoke and Soot; the Well-being of the whole sublunary World depending on those Fires.

If we consider the Offers have been made in the Accounts of *China* concerning *Noah's Flood*, we find them various, imperfect, and indeed contradictory, and full of forc'd Constructions put on the faithful Annals of those People. *Martinius* in the first *Decad* of his *Chinese History*, writing of *Yaus*, the seventh Emperor there, endeavours, tho in vain, to make the *Chinese* Account of Time to fall in with the *Hebrew* Chronology as to *Noah's Deluge*: I say, in vain, because this Emperor, according to him, began his Reign in the 2357th Year before *Christ*, which is sooner than those who adhere to the *Hebrew* Chro-

Chronology allow. And *Martinius* having mentioned a certain Deluge which happened in *China* during this Emperor's Reign, and which the *European* Chronologers would reduce to the time of *Noah's* Deluge, says, he shall easily grant that all the History of that Nation till that time, was either feign'd, or relates things which happened before *Noah's Flood*; the Memory of which things haply was preserved in the Ark, it being likewise the Opinion of learned Men, that many things also of Religion were there preserved from Oblivion and being lost. But to go about to persuade the *Chineses* to believe this, he says, would be an indiscreet Undertaking, they maintaining the Credit of their antient Writings as Oracles; nor are they to be moved from it. But as for himself, he says, he makes no scruple to say that this *Yaus* was the same with *Janus*, the Affinity of their Names and Times persuading it; which *Janus* is believed by many to have been *Noah*.

This Opinion of *Martinius*, that *Yaus* was the same with *Janus* and *Noah*, is followed by some others, who are for maintaining the *Hebrew* Chronology; tho *Martinius* himself speaks doubtfully of this Opinion, p. 21. of his *Chinese* History; where, he says, he holds for certain the farther part of *Asia*, which he describes, was inhabited before the Flood: but it does not appear to him after what manner the Memory of things was preserved, if all Mankind, excepting *Noah* and his Family, were wholly drown'd.

Now, to shew the Weakness of this Opinion, viz. that *Yaus* was the same with *Noah*, let it be considered, first, That tho the *Chineses* mention a Deluge in their Country in the Reign of *Yaus*, they give not any Account of the Origin and Cause thereof, nor speak a word of any particular Family saved in an Ark, nor had any Tradition concerning the *Antediluvian* Patriarchs, nor of the Creation; nor had they the least knowledge of the *Hebrew* Language and Letters,

ters, which Language is generally look'd upon by the Learned to have been the Primitive Language, but used a Language and Characters wholly differing from them. Neither had they so much as a Name for God, as *Martinius* writes in the beginning of his *Chinese History*, saying, Concerning the chief and prime Author of things, there is a wonderful Silence among them all; for in so copious a Language, God has not so much as a Name: which *Noah* doubtless would have taught them, had he ever been among them. And again, notwithstanding the Deluge mentioned in the time of *Taus*, in which many might have perish'd, their Nation, Emperor, and Government, still continued: so that all these things considered, Men must oddly strain their Fancies, to imagine this Deluge the same with that of *Noah*.

Secondly, Father *le Comte*, in his *Memoirs concerning China*, Tom. 2. Letter 2. writes thus: The *Chineses*, more happy in their Beginning than any other People of the World, drew almost from the true Source the holy and first Truths of their antient Religion; the Children of *Noah*, who dispersed themselves in the Eastern *Asia*, and probably founded this Empire, having themselves been Witnesses during the Deluge of the Almighty Power of the Creator, had given the Knowledge of him to their Descendants, and inspired them with the Fear of him; the Footsteps we still find of it in their History, do not permit us to doubt of it. *Fohi*, the first Emperor of *China*, carefully bred up in his House seven kinds of Animals for Sacrifices, which were offered to the Sovereign Spirit of Heaven and Earth, &c.

Here we see Father *le Comte* supposes the Deluge of *Noah* to have past before *Fohi*, who was about 600 Years before *Taus*; and how do these Stories of the Deluge cohere, if it shall be said that *Martinius* and *le Comte* go upon differing Chronologies? This will not satisfy, for the Question will still lie, How comes it

it to pass, that there is no mention in all the *Chinese* Annals or Records, of any Deluge there before *Taus*? I doubt the *Gentiles* will not think this Question fairly answerable, and the *Chineses* being supposed by all Chronologers to have had a Government at least as near the Deluge, if not before it, as any People, they must have known it with a witness, or unquestionably received a Tradition of it; and in case of either, it's incredible they should not have conveyed this Knowledge or Tradition to Posterity. And here I must say, I cannot believe *Martinius* and *le Comte* have delivered their serious Sense in the trifling Offers they have made for proving *Noah's* Deluge from the *Chinese* History; and I think it appears plainly enough they only thought they must say somewhat seeming to favour the commonly-received Opinion of *Noah's* Deluge, however interfering with the *Chinese* Records. Neither can I see any thing in the Chronological Accounts of *China*, set forth by Father *Couplet* and the three Jesuits his Associates, which seems so strong for making out *Noah's* Deluge from the *Chinese* History, as the total Silence of it in the *Chinese* Records, seems to make against it.

If it shall be said, That, tho the *Chinese* History be silent as to *Noah's* Deluge, the Relation that *Moses* gives of it suffices; the *Gentiles* will tell you, that whereas an Annalist plainly records Facts as they happen, the End of Legislators is to establish a Government and a good Morality among Men: wherefore they must set forth Facts, be they real or feign'd, which strike the Imagination, whether they are as Judgments upon, or in favour of Mankind, who will not be brought so easily to Obedience and a Compliance with moral Duties by other means; and that the *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Egyptians*, and other Nations, constantly used this Practice for those Ends. The learned *Hottinger* in his *History of the Creation*, p. 9. writes, That many affect the Praise of Antiquity,
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which those who are taught better, or more certain things, ought not to allow them; they are to be brought to the Fetters of the Scripture, and if they do not admit of its Authority, they are to be rejected with a generous Contempt. But the *Gentiles* will have little regard to such proceeding; and Philosophers, however they may acquiesce in Laws introduced for the Well-Government of Mankind, will not suffer themselves, in the Search of Nature, to be stinted in their Thoughts by Legislators, who have other Views in what they set forth in that kind. This perhaps the *Chinese* Philosophers may here reply, for they had no notion of making a general Deluge a Symbol of a general Corruption of Mankind, as the *Greeks* and other Nations had.

Not having met with any Author who has made an Offer at explaining the Sense of the *Gentiles*, as to the foregoing Matters, I would not withhold from the Learned what upon long thinking, I conceive it must have been; which perhaps may be of some service to them.

The learned *Leidekkerus*, in his Work *de Repub. Hebr.* l. 3. c. 13. observes, That while the Symbolical and Parabolical Ways of teaching were in use, it might well happen that Hieroglyphical or Mythical Doctrines may have passed insensibly into Histories, the credulous Minds of Men believing them to be true Relations; which I look upon to have proved very detrimental to true Religion: for when Men of enquiring Spirits perceive that Parabolical and Mythological Relations are put upon them to be believed as real Truths, it breeds a Confusion in their Understandings, and they know not where the end of imposing will be. And, I think, since the Parabolical Way of teaching is antiquated, if Divines, instead of amusing the World with many useless, if not pernicious Disputes, would bestow some time in fairly setting forth what is meerly Parabolical or Mythical

thical in Doctrines relating to their Function, which have been derived to us from the antient Mythical or Ante-historical Times; it would be of good service to Mankind, to keep them from straining their Wits in contriving *Hypotheses* and other Ways to salve Difficulties raised meerly on imaginary Foundations. So *Maimonides*, in his Preface to his *More Nevachim*, writes as follows: The Intent of this Book is to explain the abstruse and mythical Passages which occur in the Writings of the Prophets, of which it is not expressly said that they are Parables, but are so proposed, that it seems to the Ignorant and Unskilful they ought to be understood according to the literal Sense; nor does any thing appear to them to lie hid under the Letter, but being weighed and examined by learned and intelligent Men according to the literal Sense, they presently have Scruples and Doubts in their Minds, which I endeavour to clear in great part in this Book. *Bullialdus*, in his Commentary on *Ptolomey's Tract de Judicandi Facultate*, &c. p. 99. tells us, That when this Book of *Maimonides* was first brought out of *Egypt* into *France*, the *Jews* there conspiring, caused it to be burnt, because it seemed much to favour the Truth of the Christian Religion. Tho perhaps it may have been, partly, for that it lays open some parts of the Law, which they were more inclined to have kept in Mystery.

Strabo, lib. 1. says, It is necessary for Legislators and States to adopt the Fables of the Poets, for imprinting a Sense of Religion on the Minds of the People: For do not imagine, saith he, that Women and the Vulgar can be brought to Faith and Piety by Philosophical Discourses; for this there is need of Superstition, and without Fables you cannot introduce Superstition. It was necessary therefore to forge Fables, as Apparitions and Hobgoblins, to terrify the Ignorant. Philosophy is but for a few, Fables are a publick Good, and fill the Theatres.

In reference to this Symbolical Doctrine, *Gallaus*, p. 904. on *Lactantius*, writes, *Moses* contradicts the Fable of the *Phœnix*, *Gen. ch. 7. ver. 9.* which, if the holy Fathers had considered, they would not have abused that Fable to establish the Resurrection of the Dead. That Simile might be of force to reprove the *Gentiles*, who denied the Resurrection of the Flesh; but not with Christians, who ought to be taught the Mystery of the Resurrection from the Word of God, and not from those idle Fables. *Bochart* deals more gently with these Fathers, saying, If they failed in that respect, it was not done thro an Intent of deceiving, but thro Credulity.

I know, tho *Maimonides* is free to intimate which of the Passages of the Prophets are Parables, and which not; yet he is against laying open all things to the People: for in the first part of his Book, c. 17. he says, Do not think that only Divine Wisdom is to be hid from the Vulgar and the Generality of Men, for we judge the same of Natural Wisdom, which he calls *Opus Bereschit*, as he does the other *Opus de Mercavah*; and tells us, it is a Saying among the Wise-men, *In opere Mercavah ne coram unico quidem nisi fuerit sapiens, intelligens, & tum tradent ei summa tantum & generalia capita; & in opere Bereschit, ne in duobus quidem.* And this way of proceeding, he says, was not only in use among the Doctors of their Law, but was also antiently observed by the Philosophers and Wise-men among the *Gentiles*, who hid their Principles, and spake of them in *Ænigma's*.

Now in reference to this, I think, as to Divine Matters relating to the Spirit, it would be to no purpose to talk of them among the vulgar and unexperienced Persons, such Matters being in their nature unexplicable by Man, the Knowledge of them being practical, and arising only from the internal Operation of the Spirit; and tho some Writers of mystical Divinity have explained the Nature of that internal

Operation as clearly as possible, yet common Readers take no Gust in it, it not falling under their Apprehensions. But how far a disconsolate Cloud must be kept over Mens Understandings in reference to natural Knowledge, it does not well appear to me from any extraordinary Effects I have observed among Nations where such Managements have been practised. For if the *Chineses*, without Mythological Philosophy or Theology, or Ænigmatical Doctrines, have carry'd on as antient, and perhaps as good a Government as the World has had: I see not why this mysterious way must be always continued in all Countries, tho it might have been useful, and fit to be practised in some Nations for a time, where the People were rude and barbarous, and of a perverse and intractable Disposition, and while all Learning, both Divine and Natural, was among the Priesthood, and they used both as they pleased. But if any Men now should urge the Continuance of that mysterious Cloud over the Heads of Natural Philosophers in things that belong to their Province, I doubt they would scarce be able to contain them from crying out, *ad Populum Phaleras*. Not but I well know there are some things relating to natural Knowledge which naturally carry an Injunction of Secrecy in them, so that those who are let into the Mystery, if they are in their Senses, will not divulge them, nor communicate them to others, unless it be by some secret Ways known to themselves, and so that the Parties to whom they are communicated shall never know whence it comes. Much more might be said concerning these Matters, but I must not forget that I write a Letter, and conclude.

If *Noah's Deluge* should be explained according to the Sense of the *Gentiles*, it would draw after it many other things which would require to be explained otherwise than generally they have been hitherto, and which may require some Consideration; but

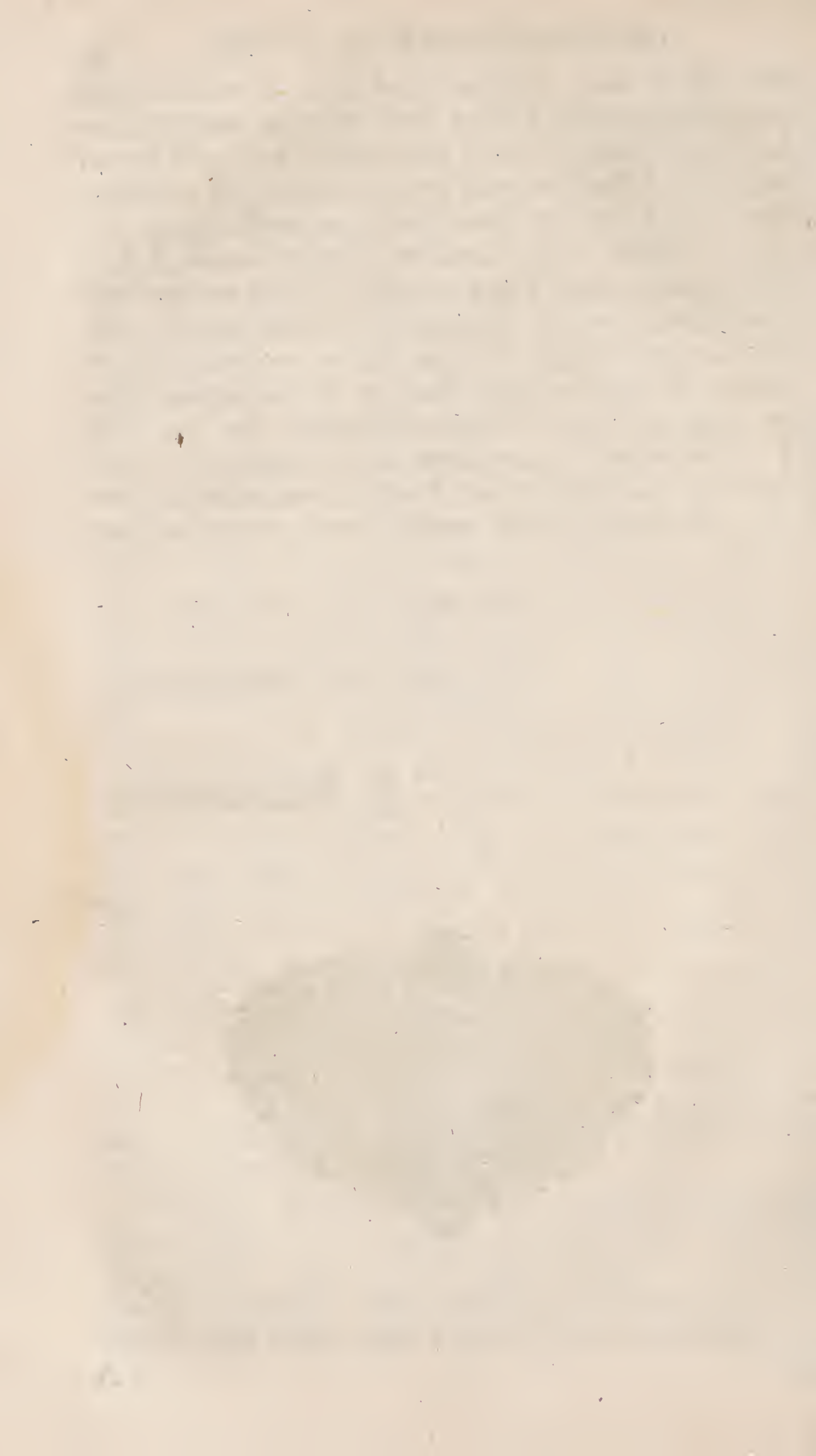
but till I have the Sense of some learned Persons concerning what I have here written, and particularly your own, which I much desire you will favour me with, I shall not enlarge at present. If any Man shall say, I seem in some places to press things too far in favour of the Opinion of the *Gentiles*, I shall only reply, that I know not how Truth can be well established, but by having all Objections well ventilated, that things may be set in a clear Light to Man's Understanding. And as all Academies allow an Arguing *Pro* and *Con* on all Subjects for that end, I desire what I have here written may be look'd upon as an Academical Exercitation, which I presume I may promise myself from your Candour; being,

S I R,

Your Very Humble Servant,

J. Beaumont.







A
 DISCOURSE
 OF
 ORACLES:
 GIVING

*An Account of the Sybilline
 Oracles; with an uncommon
 Explication of VIRGIL'S
 fourth Eclogue, and some o-
 ther Parts of his Works
 relating to them.*



R. Van Dale is not the only Person who has been inclined to believe that the Oracles of the *Gentiles* were carried on meerly by the Imposture of the Priests, without any Co-operation of evil Spirits in those Performances: for *Cælius Rhadiginus, Lect. Ant. l. 2. c. 12.* writes concerning the Oracles as follows.

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The Oracles, tho they have been often found to be very vain, yet it's most certain that the most ancient Divines and *Platonists* were wont to pay a very great Reverence to them, and endeavour'd to uphold them with Reasons. But as there were three kinds of Theology among the Antients; one *Fabulous*, which they called also Historical, chiefly ascribed to the Poets; the second, *Natural*, which is Mystical, and entertained by the Philosophers; the third, *Civil*, which grew in use in Cities by Custom, and so became established by Laws: Oracles and their Answers were comprised in this last kind; and if we make a curious Search whence Oracles first crept into the World, I have found, as it seems to me, by a long and continual Reading, that they were not instituted or propagated by the Gods, nor Devils, but by certain crafty Men, who would make a gainful Trade of them. Which was the Opinion of the most famous *Greek* Philosophers, the *Peripateticks*, *Cynicks*, and *Epicureans*; by whose Writings the Vanity of the Oracles is not only laid open, but the Evils thence arising are plainly demonstrated: and this is proved by the subtly contrived Answers of the Oracles, fitted to any Event, and given by wicked Men, too much practised in Imposture, and tricking others, thro a Principle of Avarice. Which Answers were framed or patch'd together by a combined Deceit, after their Emissaries or Spies, of whom they had many, who were Partakers of their Wickedness and Gains, had roved about Cities to help to carry on the Cheat. For these Men most diligently enquired into what People had an occasion to know, and informed the Managers of the Oracles, who attending in the obscure Caves, gave Answers to those who came to consult them, whom the great Desire implanted in Men of knowing what is to come, often combined with Folly, prompted to it. This is an Evidence of the Cheat, that many of the Soothsayers
and

and Prophets having been put to the Rack, have confessed that the whole Priestly Office of Divining was carried on by their Frauds. I know *Lactantius* writes; and *Apuleius* seems to confirm it, that Astrology, Divination by Birds and Oracles, are the Inventions of *Dæmons*, whose Business it is to darken, or cast Mists before the Truth. Haply these things may not be wholly transacted without *Dæmons* being concerned, as they join with natural Causes. If you ask after what manner *Dæmons* are able to know future things, *Porphyrius*, in a Book he published concerning Oracles, says, That whatever future things are predicted, by Oracles, they are all predicted from an Observation of the Heavens; but you must know, says he, that the Gods also often lye, for there is no certain and clear Foresight of future things, which are not only involved in Intricacies, as to Men, but likewise most uncertain, and all beset with deceitful Circumstances as to the Gods themselves: and if it happens that some God has a Foreknowledge of some things, yet it does not happen to him at all times.

Huetius, at the end of his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, writes concerning the Oracles as follows:

Before I make an end, I think it proper for me to say somewhat of the Oracles of the *Gentiles*, which for a very long time, under the colour of a Prophetic Faculty, fool'd the Vulgar, and may furnish an Argument to the Adversaries of the Christian Law for invalidating the Force of the Predictions of the Old Testament. But if the Prophecies with which they defend themselves, were Lyes and Impieties, what Support can Truth have from them? Even when those Oracles flourished most, they had so little Credit amongst Men of a sound Sense, that nothing was more contemptible among them, as appears from *Cicero*, lib. 2. de *Divin.* and from *Origen*, lib. 7. against *Celsus*, where he sets forth, that *Aristotle* and the *Peripateticks*, and *Epicurus* and his Followers, despised

and refuted those Oracles, which, by a common Custom, derived from Ancestors, were received with Admiration throughout all *Greece*. And *Porphyrus*, a Man very well known in these Matters, openly confesses the Vanity of the Oracles, he having writ a Book of the Philosophy drawn from Oracles. I could easily confirm the Thing with many Testimonies, Examples, and Reasons; but since *Eusebius*, throughout his whole sixth Book, *de Præp. Evang.* has performed it, I refer the Reader to him. The same altogether is to be thought of the *Sybilline Verses*; not only of those new ones we have, which are commonly censured of Imposture, but likewise of the antient, which the Antients mention, censured also by *Cicero*, *lib. 2. de Divin.* After the useful Labour bestowed by *Blondel* in demonstrating the Vanity of those Writings, it would be a Labour useless to the Reader, and ungrateful to myself, to write more at large on this Argument. So far these two Authors, *Rhodiginus* and *Huetius*, whom we see much inclined to *Dr. Van Dale's* Opinion; tho for some Reasons, perhaps, they do not plainly speak out, and fully declare for his Opinion, as we find *Mr. de Fontenelle* has done, in the Abridgment he has published of *Dr. Van Dale's* Book *de Orat. Vet. Ethnic.*

Now, since *Huetius* has intimated, as we have seen before, that the *Sybilline Verses* are wholly to be charged of Vanity and Imposture, as the other Oracles are, especially as to what they are said to contain concerning Christ; I shall first speak of the *Sybils* and their Verses, and then of the other Oracles. And I must say, that among all the Authors I have met with, *Boxhornius* seems to me to have given the most judicious and concise Account of the *Sybilline Verses*, tho I have read *Blondel* of the *Sybils*, and *Crasset* against him, and *Markius* against *Crasset*, and *Crasset's* Reply, and more than twenty other Authors concerning the *Sybils* and Oracles; some of them being pretty

pretty voluminous. But as *Boxhornius's* Account pleases me best, I shall here give you an Abstract of it.

Boxhornius, near the Beginning of his *Historia Universalis*, writes concerning the *Sybils* thus :

Some of the Antients will have it, and some of the Moderns believe, that the Birth of *Christ* was known to *Augustus* from the *Sybilline* Oracles, and that thence it came to pass that he who at first was very averse to the *Jewish* Worship, became changed afterwards, and had a great Esteem for the *Jewish* Religion ; but they amuse us with Fables. Many of the Fathers tell us, that the *Sybils* prophesied some things concerning *Christ* ; nor do I, to speak with the learned *Casaubon*, wholly deny it : but that *Augustus* knew any thing certain of the King *Messias*, and particularly of his Coming, from the *Sybils* Verses, none of the Fathers have said it, and those are in a great Error who believe it. The People of the *Jews*, and so *Christ's* Disciples, who had read the Scriptures, and had heard the Predictions concerning *Christ* often expounded in the Synagogues by the Scribes and other Doctors, did not, even at the time when they lived with our Lord, ever suspect any such thing. The Disciples of *John Baptist*, who had heard their Master preaching concerning *Christ*, and had seen the Dove falling from Heaven on him, yet when *John* was kept in Prison, near his End, they remained Unbelievers, and forced him to send to our Lord, to ask whether he were the Person to come, or whether they must expect another, *Mat.* 11. 3. And shall we believe that the *Pagans*, taught by their *Sybils*, knew so great a Mystery ? Shall we then equal or criminally prefer the *Sybilline* Oracles to the truly inspired Oracles of God ? Very learned Divines have called *Isaias* an Evangelical Prophet, for his plain Predictions of the *Messias* to come ; but in all the Prophecy of *Isaias*, no such thing is read, as must have been in the Books

of the *Sybils*, if that be true which is said of *Augustus*. I conclude therefore, that all those so very plain Prophecies concerning Christ, which many ascribe to the *Sybils*, were undoubtedly drawn by some Christian or Semi-christian Impostor, from the History of the Gospel.

There is one thing which may be objected to me, viz. the *Cumaean Verse*, mentioned in the fourth *Eclogue* of *Virgil*, who flourished under *Augustus*, and which no Man can say to be an Invention of the Christians; and the most learned Christian Fathers interpret those things to be said of *Christ*. which seem by way of Flattery to be ascribed by *Virgil* to the Son of *Pollio*: and it's manifest that *Eusebius*, *St. Austin*, and others of the Fathers, and many other learned Men, have affirmed, that what is delivered by *Virgil* from the *Sybil* cannot truly be interpreted of any other but of *Christ*; and *Eusebius*, at the end of the Life of *Constantine*, where he explains that *Eclogue* of *Virgil*, tells us, that the Poet, to avoid being censured by some great Men, as writing against the Laws of his Country, and disturbing the Belief received from their Ancestors, has cast a Veil over the Truth, by modifying his Matter, so as to make it seem liable to a plausible Construction.

I do not doubt but such Authorities and Testimonies will be brought against me, to make out, that the *Sybils* have delivered such things as are said of them concerning the Coming and Ministry of Christ; but those are no less in an Error who have delivered those things, than those who embrace them. And I will set forth what I conceive to be the Truth of this Matter. I do not deny, that tho the Scripture, and Histories divinely inspired concerning the Coming and Life of our Lord, abundantly suffice to establish a Christian's Faith; yet that there is somewhat of weight, especially for overcoming the Incredulity of the *Pagans*, in those Testimonies of the
Pagans,

Pagans, by which the Truth of the History of the Gospel is confirmed : And indeed they are much to be valued. But, I say, I must also here necessarily confess, that an Injury, and that a very great one, is done the Truth, when a Lye, or that which is false, is called in to its Patronage ; for it does not want such Defenders. That the *Sybilline* Oracles are false, for that the Authors lye, I think appears plainly enough from what I have set forth before, tho many things published under the Name of the *Sybils*, may contain Truths not to be doubted of. As for the Argument of the *Cumæan* Verse, I own that those things are undoubtedly true, and ought to be applied to Christ alone, which are said in it. But as true as those things are, so false it is that the *Cumæan Sybil* delivered them, tho it be so said by the Prince of the *Roman* Poets : And I will lay open the Origin of this Fiction, or Lye, that Men may understand that what is truly foretold of Christ and his Coming, is falsely affirmed to have been predicted by the *Sybil*. And the thing, as I think, is evidently thus ; and I believe that no Man, who duly considers it, will deny it. It's known among Christians, that from the beginning of the World, after the Fall of our first Parents, in whom all their Posterity stood condemn'd, there was an Oracle delivered from the Mouth of God concerning a Mediator betwixt him offended, and guilty Men ; and that this Mediator would take on him, at his appointed time, human Flesh from a Woman, for the Salvation of Man. It's also known, that such kind of Oracles were afterwards repeated often from the Mouths and Writings of the Patriarchs and Prophets by God's Inspiration. It's likewise known, that an express Mention was made in those Oracles of a Scepter, a Kingdom, a Leader, Prince, and King. It's lastly known, that the vulgar *Jews* interpreting these things, took all of them concerning the King *Messias*, and his Kingdom, and a Kingdom

Kingdom of this World, tho unadvisedly, as the thing itself shewed. Nor is it to be doubted but the ambitious, boasting and insolent Nation of the *Jews* always talked high of these Oracles, and of this their Opinion among the rest of the Eastern People, and perswaded them there would some time come a Prince from the East, and from *Judea*, who would reign far and near. When the *Gentiles* had received these things from the *Jews*, as the *Jews* had received them from the Prophets, the *Gentiles* not knowing the Prophets, who were divinely inspired with the Oracles, ascribed them to their Prophets, especially to the *Sybils*; therefore whatever things are read as foretold by these concerning a Lord and King to come, such as the *Messias* was, had doubtless their Origin from the Prophets of the Old Testament, and not from the *Sybils*. The Prophets and Priests of the *Gentiles* either foretold nothing concerning Christ, or if any thing might seem predicted by them, they uttered what was predicted before by the Prophets, and conveyed to them by the hands of the *Jews*. Wherefore the *Sybils*, in truth, only related the Prophecies of others, and did not prophesy themselves. There is no Man that reads the Scriptures, but must know that God has not done to any Nation, or People, as he has done to the *Jews*: For Mysteries were revealed by the Patriarchs, *Moses*, and the Prophets, concerning the Fall of our first Parents, the Redemption of Mankind by the Seed of the Woman, which should bruise the Head of the Serpent, that is, by the Redeemer and Saviour of all who should believe in Jesus Christ; and concerning other things which belong to Man's eternal Salvation. These things were not formerly revealed to the *Gentiles*, otherwise the *Jews* had not been dealt with after another manner than other Nations, but it appears they were otherwise dealt with; wherefore the *Jews* are called God's People, and they are so by a singular Title
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and Prerogative, because then those things concerning the Salvation of Mankind by the Coming and Incarnation of the *Messias*, were made certain and manifest to the *Jews* alone. If to the *Jews* alone, if to the sole People of God, which is the *Judaick*, wherefore, or how may we believe that the same things were known to other Nations, unless haply by the *Jews*? And indeed, as we have said already, the Nations knew some things concerning the Coming of a King who would restore most happy Times to Mankind; but not by the Oracles of the *Sybils*, or others, but by what they had delivered to them, and received from the *Jews*, to whom first and solely these things were revealed by God's sole Inspiration, first from his Mouth, and afterwards by the Patriarchs and Prophets. Nothing is more certain than these things.

That the things we have hitherto declared concerning this Matter, are undoubtedly true, and deserve Credit from those that judge rightly, contrary to what has been delivered and believed to this time, may be certainly made to appear, as it seems to me, even from the Oracles themselves spread abroad concerning the Coming of Christ, both before his Coming, and about the Time of it, throughout the whole East, and very much spoken of among the *Romans* themselves; those Oracles being taken from the Prophetick Books of the Old Testament, and made known by the *Jews* to the *Gentiles*. If we look into the chiefest and noblest of them mentioned by *Suetonius* and *Tacitus*, we shall find the thing to be as I have said. I shall speak first of that mentioned by *Suetonius*.

The Oracle which chiefly makes for this, and which was most spoken of about the time of the Birth of *Augustus*, and so near the Birth of Christ, is recited by *Suetonius* in the Life of *Augustus*, from the History of the Life and Affairs of the said *Cæsar*,
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writ by *Julius Marathus*, whom of a Bond-man he had made free. The Words of *Suetonius* are these : *Julius Marathus* tells us, *That a few Months before Augustus was born, a publick Prodigy happened at Rome.* He understands by the word *Prodigy* (as appears by the Sequel) an Oracle, whereby it was declared, that Nature was bringing forth a King for the People of Rome ; that the Senate being frighted, decreed that no one born that Year should be brought up ; that those who had Wives with Child, as every Man might hope, took care that the Decree of the Senate should not be carried to the Treasury. This is a remarkable Passage, and so much the more worthy Observation, because none of the Christians, as far as I know, have mentioned it, even where they contend that the Coming of the King Jesus Christ, and his Birth, were known to the *Gentiles*. The Oracle therefore mentioned by *Julius Marathus*, was received by the *Romans* from the *Jews* and the East, together with that perverse Opinion which the *Jews* were then possessed of, concerning the Reign of the King *Messias*, which they would have to be only of this World. Therefore that appears to be true which I said, that the Oracles which formerly were uttered concerning Christ, being corrupted by the ill Interpretation of the *Jews*, and so delivered to the *Pagans*, gave them an occasion of ascribing them rather to another, as to *Augustus*, and others, than to Christ, to whom alone they are to be referred, and whom alone they signify. Those Oracles therefore which, being known to the *Gentiles*, mentioned the Birth of the Lord *Messias*, and not being well understood by them, are ascribed to others not concerned in them, were not from the *Sybils* and other Prophets among the *Pagans*, but from the antient Prophets ; which being received from the *Jews*, the *Gentiles*, both thro Ignorance of the Truth, and a Desire of flattering their Princes, would have to be uttered

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concerning them ; whereas they signified none but Christ.

The Coming of the *Messias* was less known to none than to the *Jews* themselves, tho from the Divine Oracles which they had in their custody, it might and ought to have been most known to them. But at the Coming of Christ, the Church of the *Jews* was all fallen into Factions, and they minded more the fomenting, promoting, and increasing of Parties, as every Man was disposed, than the Truth ; Examples of which kind, every Age more than sufficiently shews. Whence it came to pass that the chief Oracles, and especially those delivered formerly concerning the *Messias*, were either neglected, or little understood by most, tho the *Jews* ought chiefly to have had a regard to, and considered most those Oracles in which their greatest Concern undoubtedly lay. Thus the Key of Knowledge, so called by our Saviour, *Luke 3. 52.* was concealed, and that Key of Knowledge was, without all doubt, an Instruction, that is, certain Rudiments, as it were, from which, and by which the Oracles of the Prophets being explained as they ought, the Coming of the *Messias* might be understood. But in that Matter the Masters and Doctors of the *Jews* both had been, and then were either as no body, or most negligent.

After some Leaves, *Boxhornius* adds: It appears that about these Times both the *Jews* and *Romans* talked of an Oracle that a King should arise, who coming from *Judea*, should reign every where. Which the *Jews* interpreted of the worldly and large-extended Empire of the *Messias*, and King of the *Jews*; and the *Romans* afterwards of *Vespasian* and *Titus*. *Tacitus* expressly mentions this, *Hist. 5.* Many, saith he, were persuaded it was contained in the antient Books of the Priests, that at that time the East would prevail, and Men come from *Judea* would have the Dominion ; which round-about Speech foretold *Vespasian* and *Titus*. But the vulgar *Jews*, according as Men are led by human Affections,

interpreting this great Fate for themselves, were not changed even by Adversity to an owning of the Truth. Nor does Suetonius otherwise express himself in *Vespasian*: There was an antient and constant Opinion, says he, that it was ordered by Fate, that at that time Men coming from Judea should have the Dominion. This being predicted of the Roman Emperor, and the Jews drawing it to themselves, rebelled. Authors agree in it. Doubtless the Coming of a Person about these Times, and the Reign which was not of this World, and both Jews and Romans were ignorant of, were signified of the Lord *Messias*. And if we carefully compare, as we ought, the Words of this Oracle with that of the Prophet, which is extremely like it, and expressed almost in as many Words, concerning the Coming of the King *Messias*, we shall find it taken from the Prophetical, and delivered from the East to the Romans. Not only the Sense of the Oracle, but even the Words were these; *At that time one proceeding from Judea shall rule*. So both speak and deliver the Oracle, Suetonius and Tacitus, *That Men proceeding from Judea shall bear Sway*. They write in the Plural Number, because the Romans interpreted it of two, *Titus* and *Vespasian*. That Plural Number therefore does not seem to be so much of the Oracle, as of the Interpreters of the two, *Titus* and *Vespasian*. Nothing more like (nay, it appears it must really be said to be one and the same Oracle) than that of the Prophet, observed and repeated by the Evangelists, in which it is expressly said of *Bethlehem* of *Judea*, a Leader shall proceed from thee. *Titus* and *Vespasian* went from *Rome* and *Italy* into *Judea*, and were not Jews of *Judea* by Origin, that they should bear Sway: and the Question is concerning a Jew by Origin, who should bear Sway, who is no other than the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and so Lord of all, *Jesus Christ*. From the things which are said before concerning this Argument, it clearly appears, that neither the *Sibyls* knew, or predicted any thing of those which some
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would have them, concerning the Coming of the *Messias*; much less that others from consulting and inspecting their Oracles, could have a certain knowledge of them. It appears also, (or I much deviate from Reason, and the high Road of Truth, for the finding out and shewing of which, this my Labour, whatever it be, is employed) that neither *Augustus*, or any other *Romans* who were *Pagans*, had any thing of certain Knowledge, even from the true prophetic and divinely-inspired Oracles, concerning the Incarnation of the King *Messias*. Since they falsely and ambitiously interpreted the true prophetick Oracles, received from the *Jews* concerning the King *Messias*, (not understood by the *Jews* themselves) of the *Roman Cæsars*, and extending their Reign or Empire far and wide, as the *Jews* also did of their King. The thing speaks itself, and is clear: Nor do I by this *Dissertation* detract any thing from the Christian History of the Coming of our Lord, but I would only have those and the like things taken away and expunged, which are but the Inventions of idle and foolish Men, ignorant of things formerly done; who, under I know not what colour of setting off Christianity to an advantage, which, as plainly delivered by the Evangelists, and according to Truth, when well understood, is highly sufficient for a Christian, have published false things for true, and ridiculous things for magnificent. So far *Boxhornius*, who seems to me to have said here enough to lessen the Esteem which some may have for the *Sibylline* Oracles. I shall here subjoin a Passage from *St. Austin* relating to what is said before, which I conceive may help to settle Men's Thoughts in this Matter.

St. Austin, lib. 18. de Civ. Dei, c. 26. writes thus, speaking of the *Gentiles*: Since they do not believe our Scriptures, their own, which they read as blind Men, are fulfilled in them, unless haply some one will say that the Christians feigned those Prophecies

concerning Christ, which are produced under the Name of the *Sibyl*, or of others. And again, c. 27. It may be thought that all Prophecies which are produced from others than the *Jews* concerning the Grace of God thro Christ Jesus, are forged by the Christians; and therefore there is nothing more strong to convince all Aliens, if they contend concerning this thing, and to uphold our own Men, if they think rightly, than that those Divine Prophecies may be produced concerning Christ, which are written in the Books of the *Jews*.

On this Passage the learned Mr. *Blondel* writes as follows: Would to God the Children of the Church had kept themselves to these Bounds, and banished from their Hearts the evil Ambition of rendring themselves Authors of some pious Frauds, and had conceived an holy Shame at those Frauds that Impostors had tried to introduce into the House of God.

To give you some farther Light concerning the *Sibyls*, I shall here set before you what the learned *Micralius*, in the first Volume of his *Ethnophronius*, l. 3. dial. 2. writes concerning them, as follows:

There is one thing holds me in Suspense, Whether the same Judgment is to be passed of the *Sibyls*, as of the other *Daimoniolepti*; and I judge that as almost all particular Nations had their *Sibyls*, we must not think the same of all of them, as those People did not think the same thing. And if we believe *Bucer*, the word *Sibyl* did not antiently denote a divining Woman, but a religious Doctrine concerning God and Divine Things. Thus therefore they do not err who say, that even in the Times of *Noah*, the most antient and first *Sibyl* of all was a *Hebrew*, called *Sambethes* or *Sabbes*, perhaps from the *Sabbatum* of the *Israelites*; whence also *Sabatius Saga*, the chief Pontiff from *Armenia* even to *Bactria*, mentioned by *Be-rosus*, drew his Name. For the genuine Doctrine

concerning God, and the most antient Religion of the Patriarchs, (the Posterity of *Noah* being dispersed into the most remote Parts of the Earth) was not presently obliterated, and each particular Country had in esteem their own *Sibyl*, their *Cabala*, Wisdom and Religion. Some preserved uncorrupted what they had drawn from the Religion of the Patriarchs; some sooner, some later, receded from the Footsteps of their Ancestors, and having received and approved various Corruptions, made themselves new Religions. Thence the *Chaldeans* had their *Sibyl*, which converted Theology into Philosophy; the *Egyptians* theirs, which added *Præstigia* and the Magick Arts; and the *Greeks* theirs, which, from *Candia* and *Thebes*, invaded almost the whole World with Fables and subtile Allegories. We must not therefore have the same regard for all the *Sibyls*, nor all Religions; for those that agree with the *Hebrew*, must be owned to have acknowledged the true God: but those whom an evil Error had drawn to the Worship of many Gods, I boldly say, they were inspired by evil Spirits. There were possibly many Women, who, tho called by various Names, might have all come under the single Name of *Sibyls*, or, according to the *Chaldeans*, of *Sambetheses*, because they admonished Men concerning Religion, being moved to it by a peculiar *Afflatus*. There were also Prophetesses among the People of God, filled with the celestial Deity, whose Ministry God used in declaring his Will, whom those that please, may call *Sibyls*. Yet it hence appears that many *Sibyls*, mentioned by Historians worthy of Credit, were not moved by a good, but a bad Genius; that they were more employed in promoting Superstitions, than in abolishing them. And this may be seen even from those Books which *Amalthea*, the *Cumæan Sibyl*, whom others call *Herophile*, offered to *Tarquin*; for in these, *Lectisternia* were commanded for procuring the Favour of *Apollo*, *Latona*, *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mercury*,
and

and *Neptune*; and other things were contained in them, making for the superstitious Worship of *Dæmons*. To which we may add, that the Fury and Rage with which most of the *Sibyls*, and even the *Cumæan Sibyl* of *Virgil*, when Answers were to be given, were agitated, is a manifest Sign that they were in the power of evil Spirits who moved them. For the true Prophets understood Visions without Madness, and therefore they were called Seers. And as often as the Prophets of the *Gentiles* uttered things to come, not discerned in their Causes, nor suggested by evil *Dæmons*, but revealed from God, God would have it to be made appear from this special Illumination, as by a certain Pledge, that it would come to pass, that the *Gentiles* would some time be supplied with Waters from that perpetual Fountain, whence the House of *Juda*, as being in their Inheritance, drew Waters plentifully. *Balaam* is an Example, and he whom *Paul* calls *Epimenides*, a Prophet of *Candia*. The Apostle calls him a Prophet, not a Poet, or Philosopher; for *Plato*, *Laertius*, and others, testify, that he was skilful in Divination, and writ a Book concerning Oracles. Among all the Prophets of the *Gentiles*, *Mopsus*, *Idmon*, *Tiresias*, *Telemus*, *Amphiaraus*, *Hellenus*, *Martius*, *Zoroaster*, *Hydaspes*, had a great Esteem for the *Sibyls*; nor were the *Sibylline Oracles* forged by the Christians, as *Casaubon* intimates, and *Mountague* argues against him. So far *Micrælius*.

Here I may observe, that as *Peucer* says, the word *Sibyl* did not antiently denote a divining Woman, but a religious Doctrine concerning God and Divine Things: and as we are not certified from History concerning the Number of the *Sibyls*, the Times they lived in, their Age, Lives, Religion, and the like; so it seems we are left to judge of them as we think good, whether those Writers were Men or Women, the Truth of the Matter not being retrievable. *Socinus*, in what he writes against *Wiekus*, endeavours

to make the Existence of the *Sibyls* doubtful, saying, It's likely that what is related of the *Sibyls*, are Fables; and that it seems we ought rather to believe they never existed, because no one in their time has written any thing of them. But notwithstanding what *Socinus* says, it cannot be doubted but there were Books which antiently came abroad under the Names of *Sibyls*; some of the *Gentiles* before Christ (who cannot be suspected of Fraud) having quoted such. But I think what he says may very well serve to confirm the Doubt of the Authors of those Books, and if I may be free to give my Opinion concerning them, I believe the Persons who wrote the Oracles (such as they were antiently) ascribed to the *Sibyls*, were the Priests attending the Oracles, who might be called *Sibyls*, that Word signifying Partakers of God's Counsels, as they pretended themselves to be. And these Priests are known to have been very ready at versifying, they always putting into Verse the Answers the *Pythia* delivered in Prose. And it's known that *Hesiod*, who by some learned Men is affirmed to be the *Cumæan Sibyl* whom *Virgil* means, and who was born at *Cuma* in the *Lesser Asia*, was a Priest belonging to a Temple dedicated to *Apollo* and the *Muses*, seated at the Mountain *Helicon*, not far from *Parnassus*, where he composed his chief Poem, prescribing certain Laws, as it were, of Well-living to his People; and in which he particularly sets forth the Ages, to which *Virgil* refers. And it's a farther Inducement for me to believe the Managers of the Oracles were the Writers of the *Sibylline Verses*; because, as Sir *John Floyer*, in his *History of the Sibylline Oracles*, where he answers *Opsopæus's* Objection, well observes, that from those Oracles, *Orpheus*, *Homer*, *Hesiod*, *Virgil*, *Ovid*, and all the *Greek Philosophers*, borrowed their Notion of the Creation, the Deluge, the Rewards of the Just, and Punishments of the Wicked, the Golden Age, their Sacrifices, the Conflagration

flagration of the World, &c. For as there seems to be no doubt but the Writers of the Oracles (whoever they were) had a good understanding with the Legislators and other Managers of Civil Governments, they knew with what Opinions the People ought to be possessed.

As the Story of a *Sibyl's* carrying Books to *Tarquin* seems to me fabulous, I am inclined to think that those Books were originally introduced by the *Romans*, on a politick account, by the State, to amuse the People, as Occasions might present, in Difficulties of Government, which will often occur in all States. And thus I may agree with *Mr. Whiston*, in his *Vindication of the Sibylline Oracles*, that a difference ought to be made betwixt the Capitoline Copy of the Oracles, and the others. Near the beginning of his Book, after he has set down from *Vopiscus* an Account of the Capitoline Copy, and the Emperor *Aurelian's* Letter to the Senate concerning it, he gives us two Corollaries, as follows :

Cor. 1. Since these pretended *Sibylline Oracles*, laid up in the Capitol, stand originally on no other Authority than one Woman's Assertion, or, at most, as supported by some Heathen *Augurs*; since they were so strictly concealed from all but a few of the Heathen Priests : Since their pretended Contents did so evidently tend to confirm *Pagan Idolatry* and *Polytheism*; and since they were never used but on Emergencies of the *Pagan-Roman* State, and upon the Direction of the *Pagan-Roman* Senate, there is great reason to suspect Imposition in the whole Matter : and that these Oracles, of what nature soever they were, or whence-soever they were derived, were no better than pious Frauds, made use of to govern the *Roman* People withal.

Cor. 2. The real *Sibylline Oracles*, so publick, so famous, and so much quoted by Heathens, *Jews* and *Christians*, were entirely different from the Capitoline pretended

pretended Oracles : This is most evident from every Character. The one were exceeding antient, the other, in comparison, modern ; the one belonged to all the World, and its great Events, the other only to the *Romans* ; the one were for one God, the other for many ; the one were against Idolatry, the other for it ; the one were publick, the other private ; the one were for true Piety and Morality, the other for Superstition, and Tricks of State ; the one contained Predictions of Events in Providence, and the Affairs of true Religion, and the other belonged to the small and petty Affairs of the *Roman* State, in its political Concerns only : So that those who confound these two sorts of Oracles together, as the modern Critics generally have done, proceed without any solid Foundation at all, nay rather in contradiction to all the original Evidence in this Matter.

These are Mr. *Whiston*'s Corollaries ; after which he tells us, the original single *Roman* Copy was burnt with the Capitol, about eighty Years before the Christian *Æra* ; and that another Collection of *Sibylline* Oracles was made from several Countries, and laid up secretly in the new Capitol. This he makes out from several Authors, and among others from *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, who particularly adds, that among this new Collection some spurious Verses, distinguished from the rest as being Acrosticks, did appear ; and in this *Dionysius* says, he does but follow the authentick Account of *Terentius Varro*, whose Narration it is, in his Treatise of Divine Matters. So far Mr. *Whiston*.

Now, we may here note that *Terentius Varrò* lived in *Cicero*'s time, which was before Christ ; so that if those Acrosticks were then concluded to be spurious, (tho, I conceive, few will believe them to be the same with those Acrosticks we have now concerning Christ) it may be some Inducement for us to believe these

latter also to be so, besides other Reasons we may have for it.

We may farther take notice of what is intimated by *Boxhornius*, in his *Quæstiones Romanæ*, *Quæst.* 42. concerning the Capitoline Copy ; where, according to what is suggested before by *Mr. Whiston*, he writes thus : But what if this Copy were the *Arcanum* of the *Roman* Empire ? They pretended as tho they had some secret Mysteries, some secret Books concerning the Will of the Gods, when there were none extant. And this was done, that according as the Necessity of Affairs might require, they might persuade the People from them, it was the pleasure of the Gods that this or that thing should be done, or omitted ; the Pretext of a Divine Command extorting an Obedience, which otherwise could not be obtained. These are the *Arcana* of States, especially of the *Roman*, which *Tacitus* rather calls Arts and Umbrages of things, in which one thing really is, and another thing seems to be, and a thing is feign'd that is not, that a thing may be done which ought to be ; for such is the Nature of the People, that being baited by specious Pretences, they may believe under a false colour, what they would not believe, if they should hear the Truth.

As for the *Cumæan Sibyl*, mentioned by *Virgil* in his fourth *Eclogue*, I know many learned Men have writ Comments on that *Eclogue* ; and as we are all here upon conjecture, it's no wonder if Men vary in their Sentiments, and if I differ from them all, unless it be that *Mr. Dodwell*, in his Book of *the Distinction between Soul and Spirit*, seems to concur in opinion with me, *p.* 25 & 26. of the second Edition.

It being the Opinion of many of the Learned, that the Verses in that fourth *Eclogue* are not properly applicable to any but to Christ ; I think it proper for me to premit a few things relating to that Opinion, before I deliver my own Sense concerning it.

Mutius

Mutius Panfa published a Book, *de Osculo seu Consensu Ethnicæ & Christianæ Philosophiæ*; that is, concerning the Agreement of the *Pagan Philosophy* with that of the *Christians*: in which Treatise he sets forth, that the *Mysteries* of the *Chaldeans, Egyptians, Persians, Arabians, Greeks, and Latins*, as being taken from the *Hebrews*, are consonant to our Faith concerning God. And the learned *Kircher* was so well pleased with this Book, that he styles the Writer of it, *Haud ignobilis Author*. But I think we must have something more particular concerning the *Mysteries* of Religion, for a right understanding of this *Eclogue*.

Our late eminent *Dr. Wallis*, Anno 1682. publish'd two Sermons together, which he had preached to the University of *Oxford*, concerning *The Necessity of a Regeneration*; which Book I think highly worth our reading, and shall give you a few Particulars of it. He takes his Text, *John 3. & 3.* where *Christ* says to *Nicodemus*, *Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a Man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God*. On this, the Doctor says, *Nicodemus* was a great Man among the *Jews*, a *Pharisee*, a Ruler of the *Jews*, a Master in *Israel*, yet did not understand the Doctrine of Regeneration, as appears by his Questions, *ver. 4, 9.* *How can these things be? How can a Man be born when he is old? Can he enter a second time into his Mother's Womb, &c.* And by *Christ's* Expostulation, *ver. 10.* *Art thou a Master in Israel, and knowest not these things?* A little beneath the Doctor adds: That which is *Christ's* Doctrine in the Text, shall be my Doctrine at present, the Necessity of a Regeneration, or a new Birth: *Except a Man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God*. It's a Doctrine, which perhaps may seem as strange to some in this Age, as it did to *Nicodemus* then, there being those, who do not only (as perhaps at first he did) doubt of it, but scoff and reproach it, who make but a Jest of it at the best,

if not a Subject of Burlesque and Drollery, and such like unfavoury Discourses, unbeseeming Christians ; but we shall find it, first or last, to be a serious thing, not so needless, nor yet so very easy, as prophane Persons persuade themselves.

As the *Doct̃or* intimates here a Labour which attends a Person in whom the Work of Regeneration passes, I think we may here aptly apply what *Festus Avienus de Arateis* says of the Celestial Constellation *Engonasis*, or *Hercules* :

———— *Et cujus latuit quoque causa laboris,
Panyasi sed nota tamen, cui longior ætas
Eruit excussis arcana negotia rebus.*

If any Man would know who *Panyasis* was, some Writers tell us he was Uncle or Cousin-German to *Herodotus* ; but those who consider the Etymological Import of Names, will know that some of that Name are still living.

Next, the *Doct̃or* proceeds thus: As to the Truth of this Doctrine, it will need no great Proof, being the very Words of the Text, which will rather need Explication than Confirmation. And two things are here to be explained ; what is meant by seeing the Kingdom of God, and what by being born again.

Now, I must refer you to the *Doct̃or* for explaining these things, it being beside my Business to enlarge upon them here, and shall only add one Passage of the *Doct̃or's* second Sermon, on the same Text ; where, *p.* 36. he writes thus : I know very well, that the Name of the Spirit in this loose Age is made matter of Burlesque and Drollery, but so are all the sacred things of God, his Being and Providence, Heaven and Hell, and the Day of Judgment ; yet we must not therefore be drolled out of our Religion. The Truths of God will still be the Truths of God, notwithstanding the Follies of Men ; those Admonitions, *Quench not the Spirit, grieve not the Spirit,*
walk

walk in the Spirit, &c. were intended for serious Advice; nor will the Follies of some, who may pretend to what they have not, excuse the Malice of others, who make a mock of holy things. So far Dr. Wallis, whose Sermons I recommend to Mens Perusal; which, tho he was a great Man, and published many useful Books, seem to me to be worth all the rest.

Having given an Intimation from *Mutius Panfa*, that the Mysteries of the *Gentiles* were consonant to our Faith concerning God, and some Passages from Dr. Wallis, concerning a Regeneration; I shall now proceed (with all Submission to proper Judges) to deliver my Sense concerning *Virgil's* fourth *Eclogue*.

As I look on *Virgil* in his *Pastorals* to have had an eye to Religion and Church-Dispensations, and its Pastors, as well as to Civil Affairs; so, I conceive, in this *Eclogue*, where, at entrance, he intimates he should sing somewhat great, his chief Design was to celebrate that inward Birth, which attends a Regeneration, after a spiritual Death, which must first be undergone; the highest Reach of Church-Discipline being to bring Men, by a due training, to this regenerate State. And if I am inclined to think that many of the *Gentiles* became Partakers of this spiritual Death and new Birth, I must say, that after having spent no small time in considering the Writings of the *Gentiles*, I cannot make a tolerable Sense of many Passages in them, but as they are explainable with reference to those interior Transactions. I find it so in *Virgil*, in his *Bucolicks*, *Georgicks*, and *Æneids*; and I find the like in other Authors of the *Gentiles*. I am persuaded *Virgil*, in his fourth *Eclogue*, has celebrated this new Birth, in which himself and many others of the *Gentiles* were initiated their way, and did not unknowingly write of Christ by a Prophetick Instinct, as some will have it, because many things there said, cannot, in many respects, be apply'd

ply'd to Christ, tho many learned Men have judg'd they must ; nor to the Son of *Pollio*, tho many Interpreters have applied them to him, whereas he is not mentioned in that *Eclogue*. And if what is said of the Birth there celebrated, be applied to him, we must own, he is there represented as tho he were to become a greater Person than *Augustus*. If the Genethliacal *Encomium* in this *Eclogue* shall be applied to the new, or inward Birth, and the blessed Times that attend it, all things admirably answer to it ; for when this great Work of Regeneration is over, by which Men are taught a higher Lesson of Justice than the rest of Mankind have learnt, then is their time to act in the full Latitude their Spirits bear to, according to the Posts they are in ; they being then to be trusted beyond all others, and there being no fear but they will then act according to Justice and a perfect Charity, their Spirits being fully possessed with them.

*Aggredere O ! magnos, aderit jam tempus, honores,
Chara deum soboles, magni Jovis incrementum !*

*Dear Offspring of the Gods, Jove's great Increase !
O ! now's your time great Honours to possess.*

And tho some Persons after a Regeneration fall again, and that so dangerously, that *St. Paul* says, as for those who have received the holy Gift, and fall again, there is no possible way to renew them to Repentance ; yet I can scarce think any of them can be carried so far astray, but they will still be led by a strong Byass to the central Justice they imbibed in their Visitation. Indeed when the Church has brought Persons to a regenerate State, *Functa est Officio suo*, she has done all that may be expected from her, nor can she go farther ; so that the Restoration of such fallen Persons must be from their own Reflections,

lections, which will not fail now and then to return upon them.

And here I must aver, that those who have experimentally observed the Work of Regeneration and inward Birth to have pass'd in them, if they are also learned, will be able clearly to verify within themselves all that the Poet has set forth relating to the Birth he celebrates, and particularly what he says in the Close of this *Eclogue*.

*Incipe, parve Puer, visu cognoscere Matrem,
Matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses.*

*Your Mother, Child, by Smile begin to know,
Ten long Months Loathings she did undergo.*

For the Church being the Mother of this regenerate Child, undergoes great Loathings for a long time, while she observes the Irregularities it commits; and this Child, as it comes to have Sense, and considers the Methods taken by its careful Mother for bringing him to his regenerate State, cannot forbear, at length, from beginning to take notice of her by a Smile. And I cannot see how these two Verses can be applied to Christ, as many learned Writers will have all that is said in that *Eclogue*, touching the new Birth, to be so applied. And I desire any Reader, who may be inclined to their Opinion, fairly to show me how those Verses should be applied to Christ; for, I suppose, no one will say the Blessed Virgin was at any time troubled with offensive breeding Qualms, or a Nauseousness, or had such Loathings in her Child-bearing, as there express'd. Another thing which, I think, sufficiently shows *Virgil* could not mean *Christ* in that *Eclogue*, is, that the Person there meant is often to make his Return in an orderly Succession of Ages, as he had done before.

Jam redit & Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.

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Which frequent Returns cannot be said of Christ, tho well they may of the inward Birth I contend for. And those who do not consider the various Revolutions which pass in the inward Man, or, indeed, those in whom a Regeneration has pass'd, can never be let into the Knowledge of this Mystery. When I said, that a regenerate Person will be able to verify in himself what *Virgil* has set forth relating to the Birth he celebrates, it must not be understood of a Plenty and Prosperity of all things in this World; for Christ's Kingdom is not of this World, nor are the Joys of his Kingdom like to the Joys here. And if we consider the State of *Judaism* at Christ's Birth, we shall find it horrible, as the learned *Hottinger* observes, *Hist. Eccles. par. 1. c. 1.* It was all deformed, whether we regard the Church, the Schools, or Commonwealth: And the *Jewish Rabbins* themselves speak plainly of the sad Times that would be at the Birth of the *Messias*. The *Talmudists* so greatly exaggerate the Pains of the *Messias*, which Christ himself, *Math. 24. 8.* calls *ωδίναι*, that is, the Pains of Child-birth, that a Man may not a little wonder with what face the intoxicated *Jews* should then promise themselves *Halcyon Days*, and an Affluence of all things. The antient *Talmudists* thought far otherwise, whence in *Gem. Sanhed. c. 11. §. 26.* at the time the *Messias*, the Son of *David*, will come, there will be very few Disciples, and the Eyes of those that are, will wax dull thro Vexation and Grief; Calamities will fall upon them, and most severe Decrees will be made. And in *Sota, cap. ult.* the Son will afflict his Father with Ignominy, the Daughter will rise up against the Mother, the Daughter-in-law against the Mother-in-law, and every Man's Domestick will be his Enemy. See Christ's own Words, *Mat. 10. 34, 35, 36.* *Think not that I come to bring Peace on Earth, I came not to bring Peace, but a Sword. For I am come to set a Man at variance against his Father, and the Daughter against*
her

her Mother; and the Daughter-in-law against her Mother-in-law; and a Man's Foes shall be they of his own Household. He that loves Father and Mother more than me, is not worthy of me; or he that loves Son or Daughter more than me, is not worthy of me. So again, *Luke xii. 49, 51, 52, 53.* I am come to bring Fire on the Earth; and what will I, but that it be kindled? Do you think that I am come to give Peace on Earth, I do not say so, but rather Division; for from henceforth there shall be five in one House divided, three against two, and two against three; the Father shall be divided against the Son, and the Son against the Father, &c. Whence *Abarbanel*, in his Comment on *Daniel*, writes, that the Christians had heard from the Jews, that most grievous Calamities were to be in the World at the Time of the *Messias*: First, A shameful Forgetfulness of the Law then seiz'd on many in the Church. Secondly, A perverse Explication of the Scriptures. Thirdly, An Observance of Pharisaical Traditions. Fourthly, A prophane Introduction of Simoniacal Practices. Fifthly, Pernicious Clashings of Heresies and Hereticks, of Schisms, Schismaticks, &c. See *Hottinger*.

This was the State of the Jews when Christ came; yet the latter Jews persuaded themselves, that God never intended any other thing, when he chose the People of *Israel*, and gave them the Law, and promised them the *Messias*, than that they should enjoy a carnal Happiness while they served God according to the Law; and that if this Happiness should be lost for a time, by reason of Transgressions, all Things would be fully restored again by the promised *Messias*. So that when it's said, *Hosea xiv. 5, 6.* I will be as the Dew unto *Israel*, it shall grow as the Lilly, and cast forth its Root as Lebanon; its Branches shall spread as the Olive-Tree, and its Smell as Lebanon, &c. the Jews, (as *Luther* observes, *Tom. 7. Witteberg. p. 341.*) understood these Things to be said of the *Messias*, and therefore when they hear the Likenesses of Corporal

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Things proposed, they expect from the *Messias* the Conveniences of this Life, and corporal Blessings, according to what is before express'd; and that the *Jews* will be the Admiration of all Nations throughout the Earth, and that they alone shall sway every where: But as for a Forgiveness of Sins, the Gift of the Holy Ghost, and Eternal Life, they do not dream of them. This Blindness hence arises, that, as Christ objects to them, *Matt. xxii. They know not whose Son the Messias is.* Now, as I have set forth the State of the *Jews* upon the Coming of the *Messias*, so it is the same upon a Regeneration, or New-Birth; for tho' those whom God is pleased to favour with it, are filled with such a Spiritual Joy, that they would not be without it for the whole World, it must not be thought that they have regard to an Affluence of worldly Conveniencies, or a carnal Ease in this Life, where we must always be in a State of War with our three Enemies, the World, the Flesh, and the Devil; or a liberty of Sinning, which the World commonly takes for happy Times: But they have learned to value a Happiness of Mind according to the Word of God. And tho' *Virgil* celebrates a Birth, according to that outward Affluence of all Things, which is the only Happiness the World can relish, or well apprehend, yet I doubt not but he had a Taste of the other, or of that Happiness which attends a Purity of Mind, and had a chief regard to it in what he writ. However, he thought fit to gratify *Augustus* and his Favourites by celebrating a golden Age with worldly Prosperity attending their Reign, and ev'n the Reign of the *Messias* must be so celebrated for vulgar Apprehension, the spiritual Sense being only for the few that are capable of it. That *Virgil*, and many of the *Gentiles*, had a Taste, and the highest Esteem for this spiritual Happiness, sufficiently appears from what they have set forth concerning it: So *Eurip.* in *Bacchis*, Act. 1. where the *Chorus Baccharum*, says,

*O beatum, quisquis Fælix gnarus Dei
Sacrorum, Vitam piat :
Ac animam initiat Orgyis,
Bacchans in montibus,
Sacris purus lustrationibus !*

So, again, the Chorus in *Aristophanes*, at the End of his first Act, in *Ranis*, says,

*Nobis enim Sol fulgidus
Solis, & hilaris est Lux,
Sacris qui initiamur, &
Piam bene degimus
Vitam, erga & incolas,
Erga & Peregrinos.*

The *Elusine* Mysteries had regard to the Life to come, and the State after Death ; and those who were initiated in them, were accounted more happy and honourable, not only in this Life, but likewise in that to come ; for they believed, that by Lustrations Souls were cleared from the Contagion of mortal Things, and fitted for the Contemplation of Things divine. So *Sophocles* writes concerning the Mysteries :

*Thrice happy those, who when they've seen
The Mysteries, to Death resign :
For those alone have future Bliss,
All others, endless Miseries.*

And here it deserves to be noted, that from the foregoing Verses of *Euripides*, *Aristophanes*, and *Sophocles*, and from all other Passages of the *Gentiles*, where they speak of their Mysteries, it appears, that whether the Persons initiated speak of themselves, or others speak of them, they are still represented as transported into an uncommon State of Mind ; and

indeed such as the Regenerate find themselves in, and this notwithstanding the Ridicule many of the Fathers put on all the Myſteries of the *Gentiles*. And what *Philſtratus* tells us, L. 4. C. 18. is remarkable, viz. that *Apollonius Tyanæus*, being at *Epidaurus*, at the time of the Initiations, and deſiring to be initiated, the *Hierophanta* reſuſed it, ſaying it was not lawful for him to initiate an Enchanter, and to ſet open the Entrance of *Elyſium* to him that was not pure in divine Things (as *Olearius* tranſlates the laſt Words) or, to a Man polluted with the Society of Dæmons, [as *Bullialdus* tranſlates them in his Notes on *Theon Smyrnæus*, chap. 1.] tho' afterward, when *Apollonius* had made himſelf known, the *Hierophanta* initiated him, as he deſired. Thus we ſee the *Gentiles* thought the Minds of thoſe they initiated, to be purified, and that others were not worthy of it. The ſaid *Bullialdus* alſo, in the Place mentioned, writes thus: As in Religions the ultimate End of thoſe that received the Myſteries, was a hoped Blifs and Happineſs, as it appears before from *Euripides*, *Plato*, and others, and thoſe who were initiated in the *Eluſine* and other Myſteries, and at length were admitted to a ſight of them, believ'd they had attain'd the Life of the Gods; ſo *Plato* aſſerts the ultimate End of Philoſophy, to be the ſight of God, as far as it's poſſible for Man; according to which, *Abammon*, an *Egyptian* Maſter, aptly diſcourſes, in his Answer to an Epiſtle of *Porphyrius* to *Anebo*, as follows: The benevolent and propitious Gods therefore, being led by ſuch a Will, ſend Light abundantly to religious Perſons, and thoſe who apply themſelves to divine Things, and recall their Souls to them, and cauſe them to be united to them, and accuſtom them while they are yet detained in the Body, to recede from corporeal Things, and to be led to their eternal and intelligible Principle. And it clearly appears from thoſe Works, that what we now ſpeak of, is the Salvation of the Soul; for
while

while the Soul is conversant about blessed Objects, it changes its Life for another, and produces other Effects; nor does it think itself obnoxious to a human Fate, being then of a right Mind, and often omitting its own Life, passes in Operation to the blessed Life of the Gods. So far *Abammon*; and this seems to me to be what Christianity aspires to.

But note here, that *Plutarch*, from whom we have the foregoing Passage of *Sophocles*, in his Discourse, *How the Poets ought to be read*, tells us, that they ought to be read with that Prudence which *Diogenes* used against *Sophocles*, who has cast a Million of People into Despair, by those Verses which he writ concerning the Religion and Fraternity of the Mysteries of *Ceres*; for *Diogenes* being told of those Verses, cry'd out, What does the Man say? Shall the Thief *Patæcion*, when he dies, be in a better Condition after this Life, than *Epaminondas*, only because he has been of the Religion and Fraternity of the Mysteries? And here I may note, that many Christian Divines tell us, that none but such as are regenerate can enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. If so, Lord have Mercy upon us; for, as of the 600000 Children of *Israel*, who set forth from *Egypt*, for the Land of Promise, only two of them liv'd to enter it: So, I doubt, if none but the Regenerate, and such as keep to a regenerate State of Mind, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, little more than a proportionate Number will ever enter there. Indeed there is this to be said for the Regenerate, that none but those in this Life, can have a Foretaste of the Joys to come, which is no small Privilege for them; and none can have a right Sense of what is writ by mystical Divines, nor of the most valuable Learning in the Antients, especially in the Poets, (however some may value themselves upon reading the Classics) without this Disposition: But to foreclose God's Mercy against all but the Regenerate, I dare not think of setting
Bounds

Bounds there. Note, that when I speak above of the Regenerate, I write to those who practically know what a Regeneration is, according to the Intimation of *Dr. Wallis*, there being somewhat extraordinary which passes in it, beside the common Practice of a Christian Life; and this I intimate, that People may not fancy they know what it is, when they do not.

To go on with some other Passages of the Antients concerning their Initiations. *Plato* in *Phædone* says, Whoever shall go to *Hades* unexpiated and uninitiated, will lie in the Dirt; but whoever shall come there purged and initiated, will cohabit with the Gods. *Isocrates*, in his Panegyrick concerning those Mysteries, writes, Those that partake of the Initiations, have pleasant Hopes both concerning the Issue of this Life, and all Eternity. *Cicero* says, *de Leg. l. 2.* That by the Mysteries, Men from a rude and barbarous Life are polished for Humanity, and brought to a gentle Disposition. As they are called Initiatings, so by them we really know the Principles of Life; nor do we only receive with Joy the Way of Living, but likewise a better Hope of Dying. *Arianus* in *Epiſt. l. 3. c. 21.* writes; Initiations become useful, if we have an Opinion that all those things were ordered by the Antients for instructing us, and amending our Lives. And indeed it was called *τελετη*, because it was believed to bring a Perfection of Life. See more what the *Gentiles* thought concerning these Mysteries, in *Sir John Marsham's Canon Chronicus*, in the eleventh Age, under the Head *Hades*.

For the better understanding of *Virgil's* fourth *Eclogue*, I shall give you some light concerning the *Golden Age* he there describes, and that new Birth which, as I conceive, he there sets forth. *Mr. Dodwell*, in his Book of the *Separation of Churches*, c. 14. observes, That by the *Golden Age* is meant the time of the Reign of the Spirit; as long as the Divine
Seed

Seed continued among Men, or as long as they lived, καὶ ὁ λόγος, so long the Gods themselves appeared and conversed familiarly with Men, till the Degeneration of Mens Lives, to the Irascible first, and then to the Concupiscible Faculty of the Soul, by degrees exiled them back to Heaven again; so that *Astræa* was the last of them that staid below: yet she also departed at length, according as the Provocations of Men grew more and more intolerable. And this was also made the Age of the Giants, who are said to have fought with the Gods themselves, for resisting those Divine Influences, which are then supposed to have been so familiar: and these Giants brought the Deluge, and were also cast into *Tartarus*. And the New Testament compares the Sin of the Apostates from the Gospel, with the Sin of those who perished in the old World, and makes the Punishment by Fire, which should be inflicted for the Sin of these, exactly answering to the Punishment by the Deluge. And Christianity was a restoring Men to that Divine Seed which those before the Deluge enjoyed, till they lost it by their Misdemeanors; and *Justin Martyr* makes the living, μετὰ λόγον, to be the same thing with being a Christian: and *Constantine* applies all *Virgil's* fourth *Eclogue*, where he describes the *Golden Age* according to the Principles of *Hesiod* and *Plato*, to the State of Christianity. And the Spirit was look'd on to be a Divine Nature, as that was then, and supposed to make us the Sons of God, as *Plato* calls those ἀπογόνους θεῶν, who lived then, the Souls of Men being then in an ἔνωσις and Coalition with the Fontal λόγος. And according to *Plato*, as long as Men were good, God kept the Government of the World in his own hands; but as they degenerated, so he was thought to leave it to Fate, Necessity and Fortune, as if he then took no farther notice of it. And seeing Christ, whom the Primitive Christians took for the θεῖος λόγος, had the Government of

all things committed to him by the Father, it was reasonable for them suddenly to expect those happy Times, which, according to this *Hypothesis*, were consequent to such a Government. The whole Constitution of the Government of the Church in that Age was Theocratical; all the Officers of the Church were invested in their Office by the Holy Ghost himself. So far, as to the *Golden Age*. Concerning Regeneration and the new Birth, I give you what follows:

Trismegistus is an antient Author, and is said to have been an *Egyptian* Philosopher; but the Credit of the Works ascribed to him, being lately brought in question by some Criticks, I know not whether any thing taken thence might serve for an Instance of a Person among the *Gentiles* who was knowing in the Mystery of Regeneration. The late *Dr. Everard*, who, in his Sermons, has sufficiently shown himself practically knowing in the Work of Regeneration, thought some of the Works ascribed to him worth a Translation, and has given us his *Poemander* and *Asclepius* in *English*; which I believe he would not have done, unless he had had a good opinion of some part of their Contents. I know some conjecture, the Works ascribed to *Hermes* were written by some Christian; if so, and if what he has written concerning Regeneration, show him to be knowing in that Work, he is a good Christian Testimony for the Reality of such a thing. If he were a *Gentile*, his Testimony must stand good as a *Gentile*. The seventh Book of his *Poemander* contains his secret Discourse in the Mountain of Regeneration with his Son *Tat*, concerning Regeneration and a Profession of Silence. And perhaps this may be the Mountain of which the Poet said,

*Jam monte Potitus
Ridet anhelantem dura ad fastigia turbam.*

The Sum of what he says in this Book, concerning Regeneration, is this. His Son desires to be instructed in that Mystery, to which he professes himself an absolute Stranger, and without which his Father had told him no Man could be saved, and in which he had promised to instruct him, if he would withdraw himself from the World, which he said he had done. *Hermes* therefore answers him to this effect: This intellectual Wisdom, O Son! is to be understood in Silence, its Seed is true good, it's sown by the Will of God, and the Man who is thus born is the Son of God. This New-Birth, Son, is not taught, but is brought to our Mind when God pleases. If you ask me the way of Regeneration, I can only say, that I see in myself no feigned Sight or Spectacle, made through the Mercy of God; I am gone out of myself into an immortal Body, and am now what I was not before, but am born a-new in Mind. This thing is not taught, nor is it to be seen in this Elementary Body, and therefore I neglect my first compounded Frame; not that I am separated from it, for I have a Touch and Dimensions, but I am estranged from it. You see me, O Son! with your Eyes, but as you discern me presenting a Body, I cannot be seen with Eyes as I am now; and would to God, my Son, you also may go out of yourself without Sleep, like to those who dream in their Sleep.

NOTE here, that in the Work of Regeneration, Men are carried out of themselves, by passing into an extatick State; in which, tho they are not asleep, they are in a sort of waking Dream, like to those who dream in their Sleep; and this is that Sleep of which it is said, *Cum derit dilectis suis Somnum, ecce Hæreditas Domini!* and the Spiritual Death passeth in this extatick State, of which it's said, *Pretiosa in conspectu Domini Mors Sanctorum ejus*; and in this State Men may be said to be beside themselves, according to that of St. Paul, 2 Cor. 5.13.

If we are beside ourselves, it's to God-ward ; if we are sober, it's for your sakes, it's the Love of Christ that works this in us.

And let it be noted, that as in the Act of Generation, which Physicians tell us is like the Fit of an Epilepsy, the Powers of the Body are so agitated, that the Persons concerned pass into a Trance, or a sort of Extatick State, in which an Energetick Force passes from them, causing an Impregnation for a Propagation of the Species ; so in the Work of Regeneration, the Divine Impulses are so strong, that the Persons concerned find themselves transported into a sort of Extasy, in which a new Birth is brought forth, which may be called the internal *Messias* : and upon that Birth some of the Persons concerned hear heavenly Musick, as the Angels are said to have sung in the Air at the Birth of Christ, and of which the Waits, who go about our Streets with their Musick before *Christmas*, and waiting the Birth of Christ, present us a Type. Some are then brought to a Communion with Spirits, and other Knowledges are communicated to them, with which the rest of Mankind are no way acquainted : and if any Men, having an opinion of their Parts, make their Understandings the Measure of Knowledge, and ridicule such things, let them consider that there are a thousand things in Law, in Physick, in all the Arts and Sciences, which are impenetrable to those who have not groundedly learnt those Arts and Sciences, however vast a Genius they may otherwise have, and how able soever they may be in penetrating things of the highest nature.

Trismegistus goes on : If you ask who causes this Regeneration, it's the Son of God, one Man, by the Will of God. You must farther judge from the changeable things of this World, what is true : for this is not changeable, and is understood only in Power and Action. And the Mind only can understand that Generation which is in God. And do not despair, Son, but you may do this ; draw it
into

into yourself, and it will come; have a Will to it, and it will be done; vacate the Senses of the Body, and there will be a Generation of a Deity; purge yourself of the brutish Affects of Matter, which you may do by degrees, thro the Mercy of God; and by this way and means a Regeneration is wrought. And as for the rest, my Son, be silent, and hope well, and the Mercy of God will not be wanting to us. And rejoice, my Son, for being purged through the Power of God to a Clearness of Sense, the Knowledge of God comes to us; and as this comes, Sorrow will fly away to those that are capable of it. Whoever thro Mercy has attained to a Generation in God, leaving Corporeal Sense, knows himself to be divinely constituted, and rejoices, being made steadfast by God. *Hermes* at last concludes: My Son, having learned these things from me, keep to the Virtue of Silence, revealing to no Man the Tradition of Regeneration, lest we be thought Calumniators.

This is the Substance of what I have drawn from the obscure wording of *Hermes*, concerning Regeneration; in which I differ in some places from *Dr. Everard's Translation*, he perhaps having translated from another Copy than that I have, which is a *Venice Edition* of *Hermes's Works*, set forth by *Fr. Patricius*, Anno 1593. who translated them into *Latin* from a Copy he had from the Library of *Ranzonius*. As I have considered what is here said concerning Regeneration, I shall be inclined to believe with *Mr. Dodwell*, in his Book of *The Separation of Churches*, c. 15. that he that writ it was a Christian, till it shall some way appear to me that the *Poemander*, as we have it, was extant before Christ's time: for he seems to me to have Hints more than ordinary concerning the Mystery of Regeneration. *Mr. Dodwell*, in his fore-cited Book, p. 335. writes thus: Παλιγενεσία is a Term expressly used by the Author, who goes under the Name of *Trismegistus*, who, if he were really a

Christian, as I believe really he was, yet he seems at least to have personated the Person whose Name he was pleased to assume, and consequently in him to have personated the *Egyptian* Philosophy. So *Plato*, when he would give an account of the Principles of *Socrates*, or *Timaus*, brings them in, discoursing in their own Words. And tho *Pythagoras* himself is said to have written nothing, yet the *Golden Verses*, and other things quoted by the Antients, bear his Name, and very probably the same Account may serve for the *Orphaicks*, that they were also designed by the several Authors to express the Sense of *Orpheus*, and the Principles of Religion introduced by him. And I believe several of those antient Works, which at present bear false Titles, were first inscribed with those Titles by the Authors for this very reason, without any design of imposing on the World. As therefore on these accounts it will appear probable that the Author intended to deliver the Principles of the *Egyptian Philosophy*, which pretended to *Hermes* as its first Author; so it's very probable also, that he meant that Scheme of it which prevailed in his own time at *Alexandria*, which was the *Elective*, made up of several Sects that agreed in opposition to the *Scepticks* and *Atheists*; which School much influenced the World in that Age. And it's therefore very likely to be alluded to in the New Testament, which supposed its Readers imbued with those Principles. And according to this Philosophy the Return of the Soul from Heaven, whence it came, is called a new Birth: So *Porphyrus* tells us, that the Descent of the Soul into this World, is represented by the Bees and Honey in *Homer's* Description of the *Antrum Nympharum*, as Emblems of the first Generation; and yet withal, that the *Nectar*, the Drink of the Gods, was made of Honey, to show that the same Resemblance very well fitted the Return, or second Birth of the Soul also: and it's probable, it was hence given by the Primitive Christians

tians to new baptiz'd Persons. Milk and Honey also were both of them used to Infants in their first Birth, and so were very fit, according to the Mystical Philosophy, which was of great use then, for bringing many over to Christianity, and so must needs have been supposed true by them who on this account received it, where it was not corrected by express Revelation. And by this Passage of *Porphyry* it appears, that the same Philosophers took it for a fit Symbol of the second Birth also : Nor did the *Ægyptians* only express this Notion of the Return of Souls to Heaven by the Name of a second Birth : *Tertullian* uses also the word Regeneration concerning them, and the Worshipers of *Mithras*, a Religion that then very much prevailed among the Mystical Philosophers, and other celebrated Mysteries. The same thing is said more particularly concerning the *Ægyptian* Mysteries by *Apuleius*, *Met. lib. 11.* who speaking of *Isis*, says, For the Apartments of Hell, and the securing of Salvation, are in her hands ; and when any one consecrates himself to her, it's done as it were with a voluntary Resignation to Death, since it is a passing from a profane Life to a religious ; so that a Man seems then to be born a-new, as being set on a new foot for Salvation thro the Favour of the Goddess. And *Apuleius* calls *Mithras*, the Priest who had initiated him, Father ; *Complexus Mithram Sacerdotem & meum jam parentem.* So *St. Paul* calls himself the Father of those he had converted. And as the Scripture speaks of the Life after Conversion, as a new Life, so it does therein only allude to the Style of the Philosophers who make the *σωτηρίαν ἀφ' ὧλης*, the escaping from the Corruption of the World, to be a Recovery of a new Life ; and they make the *λόγος* to be a winging of the Mind, by which they are made capable to ascend upwards, to a recovering of a Divine Life. And accordingly, the very Name of *σωτήρ* is ascribed to him by *Simplicius* in that excellent

lent Prayer of his, with which he concludes his Commentary on *Epiſtetus*: and that it is by the Spirit this Government is adminiſtred, appears from *Apuleius*, in his Tranſlation of the *Aſclepius* of *Trimegiſtus*.

Now if we put the Principles of this Hypotheſis together, they will fully amount to the Account the Scripture gives of Chriſt as the $\lambda\omicron\gamma\ominus$, ſo much of it at leaſt as we are at preſent concern'd for: Firſt, the new Life will conſiſt in a Conjunction with the $\lambda\omicron\gamma\ominus$, to whom they alſo aſcribe it, as the Scripture does. Secondly, this $\lambda\omicron\gamma\ominus$ exerts his enlivening Power in us by the Spirit, as the Scripture tells us Chriſt does; ſo that they who have not this Spirit, cannot partake of this Life. Thirdly, the firſt Infuſion of the Spirit is that which enables us to aſcend, and to exerciſe any Act of the new Life, and therefore is moſt properly call'd the new Birth; and therefore they who have not yet received the Spirit, as the Principle of Regeneration, cannot be ſuppoſed to have received it at all, and by theſe Principles cannot be ſuppoſed capable of aſcending into Heaven, becauſe this is the Wing by which they are enabled to aſcend thither. Fourthly, this Infuſion of the Spirit, as a Principle of Regeneration, was expected in thoſe Baptiſms which were then received in the commonly received Myſteries of that Age; and accordingly, the partaking of thoſe Myſteries was particularly recommended by *Pythagoras* for this Purpoſe of Philoſophy. And, Fifthly, That we may not admire that Baptiſm, which was only a Ceremony of admitting Diſciples, ſhould alſo be made a Myſtery, and, as ſuch a one, made uſe of for communicating thoſe Spiritual Influences which were uſually expected in Myſteries; this was alſo frequent among the Philoſophers of thoſe Times, eſpecially the *Pythagoreans*, from whom the *Eſſeens* ſeem to have borrowed many things, as the Chriſtians did from the *Eſſeens*,
to

to suit the Way of instructing their Scholars, as to the Customs of their usual Mysteries. So far Mr. *Dodwell*, who delivers here much more of this Subject, and in his 16 *cap.* he sets forth the Likeness between the Design of the Heathen Mysteries, and of the Blessed Sacrament, shewing that they were commorative, and that generally of the Sufferings of their Gods ; that they were performed by external Symbols, particularly Bread was a sacred Symbol of Unity observed in the Rites of *Mithras* among the *Pythagoreans* ; and in the antient Way of Marriage by Confarreation, and in Truces, among the *Jews* : That the Mysteries were designed particularly for the Good of the Soul, and that in the State of Separation : That in the Mysteries they were obliged to a Confession of Sins, and to undertake new Rules of living well ; in which Particulars, Mr. *Dodwell* has shewn much Learning, which well deserves to be considered by Learned Men. See much more concerning the foregoing Mysteries in *Reinesius's Syntagma Inscript. Antiq. Class. 1. Inscript. 40 and 48*, where he refers to many Authors concerning them.

To proceed now, and to make things somewhat more clear, and to remove Difficulties which may perplex some Men in this Matter of the new Birth, I offer the following Particulars for a farther Information.

1st, Notwithstanding the Exorbitancies of Humane Nature, there is a tender Virginal Part in the Soul of Man ; and this is that Virgin, which being impregnated by the holy Spirit, is the immediate Bringer forth, under a Church Guidance, of the internal *Messiah* : of which some Christian Divines write, that *Christ* is a Shadow, a Symbol, a Figure, and that *Christ's* bodily Presence must depart, or we shall never have his spiritual Presence. For, saith he, *John 8, & 56. Except I go away, the Spirit or Comforter cannot come.* Indeed, till *Christ* comes to be formed within

within us, an Historical Faith of him signifies little, it's no more than the Devil has as well as we ; it's the Christ in our Hearts, born within us, and crucified within us, which must save us. And St. Paul says, 2 Cor. 5. & 16. that after this Christ is born within us, *henceforth know we no Man after the Flesh, yea tho we had known Christ after the Flesh, yet henceforth we know him no more.*

2dly, I shall farther shew, that the *Jews* and *Gentiles* were acquainted in this Work of Regeneration and the inward Birth, as Christians are, and that the *Gentiles* had the knowledge of this Mystery from a very remote Antiquity, tho it may not be easy to find out how, and at what particular time, they first came to receive this Knowledge. First it appears, that the *Jews* were knowing in this Mystery, because when Christ said to *Nicodemus*, *Unless a Man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God* ; and *Nicodemus* seem'd surprized at this Saying, and knew not what he meant, Christ replied to him, *Art thou a Master in Israel, and knowest not these things?* This plainly shews, that every Master in *Israel* ought to be well knowing in the Work of Regeneration, as they had been of antient Times. So 1 Cor. 10. it's said, that all our Fathers did eat of the same spiritual Food, and did drink the same spiritual Drink, for they drank of the Spiritual Rock, and that Rock was Christ ; that is, they had the same Spirit, and Faith in Christ as we, and were all Christians as we. This Passage, I think, confirms the other, and we may have reason to believe that this Knowledge of the Mysteries of Christ, and a Regeneration continued in Vigour among the *Jews*, as long as all the Hope the antient Fathers of the *Jewish* Nation conceived concerning the Coming of the *Messias*, consisted in the sole Spiritual freeing of their Souls from the tyrannical Dominion of Sin and the Devil : And that Religion was strongly upheld among them from *Adam*

to the Destruction of *Solomon's* Temple, and all were saved that died piously in that Faith. But in the time of *Zorobabel's* Temple, as they saw the Term prefixed to it by the Patriarch *Jacob*, *Gen.* 49. and the seventy Weeks of *Daniel* drawing to an end, and were in daily Expectation of the *Messias*, they began to entertain a monstrous Opinion, unknown to their Fathers, concerning him, *viz.* That he would not be their Redeemer from the Power of Sin and the Devil, but from the *Gentiles*; and hither they wrested whatever the Patriarchs and Prophets had prophesied concerning the Spiritual and Celestial Benefits of the *Messiah*: and this was the sole Cause why the *Jews* rejected Christ, that they expected an earthly King and Kingdom, and a Corporal Redemption, and did not see Christ furnished with carnal Force for accomplishing so great a Work. And as by the Coming of the *Messiah* they promised themselves only carnal Good, and Temporal Happiness; so they thought nothing passes betwixt the *Messiah* and Man concerning the eternal Salvation of the Soul, which Man, thro his Dignity, as being a *Jew*, and thro the Merit of his Works alone procures; to which they ascribe every Good and every Reward, whether temporal or eternal; and thus the Hope of *Israel* is fallen to the Flesh, their Faith and Religion is adulterate, while it is become carnal, which was formerly spiritual. If the *Messias* ought to do nothing in the World but what they now say, and promise themselves by their perverse Faith, God would not have published him, and foreshewn him by Types, and promised him after so solemn a manner; nor would the Patriarchs, Prophets, Kings, and holy Fathers, have so earnestly desired him for 4000 Years. And *Manasseh Ben Israel*, in his second Book of the Resurrection of the Dead, says, it would not be so great a wonder if the *Messias* came to subdue many Kingdoms and Empires, since we often see it happen, that many poor and abject

Persons have come to be Kings and Emperors, and to be Lords of many Countries; and since it is predicted, that upon the coming of the *Messias*, the Scepter will be taken away, the Dominion of the *Messias* is not to be placed in an outward Scepter or Kingdom. So much concerning the *Jews*, as to the Doctrine antiently in vigour among them concerning Regeneration, tho' almost forgotten at the Coming of Christ.

Secondly, That some of the *Gentiles* were also knowing in the Mystery of Christ, it appears from St. *Austin*, who, *L. 18. C. 47. de Civ. Dei*, writes thus: It's not incongruous to believe, that there have been Men in other Nations beside the *Jews*, to whom the Mystery of Christ has been revealed, and who have had Impulses to prophesy of him; nor do I think the *Jews* dare to contend, that no one has belonged to God beside the *Israelites*, since *Israel* began to propagate, his elder Brother being rejected. Indeed there has been no other People which has been properly called the People of God, but they cannot deny that there were certain Men also of other Countries, belonging not by an earthly, but a celestial Society, to the true *Israelites*, Citizens of the Country above. If they deny it, they are easily convinced in that holy and admirable Man *Job*, who was a Foreigner to the *Jews*, and who is so praised by the divine Oracle, that, as for Justice and Piety, no Man of his Time was equal to him; and I doubt not but this was ordained by God, that from this one might we know there might be other Nations also, who lived according to God, and pleased him, belonging to the spiritual *Jerusalem*; which, it is to be believed, has been granted to none but those to whom God has revealed that one Mediator betwixt God and Man, the Man *Christ Jesus*, who has been foretold to come in the Flesh by the antient Saints, as he is declared to have come to us, that one and the same Faith may by him lead

lead all the Predestinated into the City of God, the Temple of God, the House of God, to God.

On this Passage of *St. Austin*, *Vives* writes thus: For those of the *Gentiles* who followed Nature, that Guide not defaced and corrupted with evil Judgments and Opinions, might be as grateful to God, as those that kept *Moses's* Law; for what these attain by the Law, those might have attain'd without the Law; and who were such without the Law, arrived at the same Place as the *Jews*, since they steer'd their Course to the same; nor was there any other difference betwixt them, than there is when one Traveller carries a written Direction of his Journey, and another trusts to his Memory or Judgment: And the same would happen to a Man now, who having heard nothing of Christ in the remote Parts of the World, should keep those two great Commandments concerning the Love of God and our Neighbour, in which Truth itself has affirmed the whole Law and Prophets to be contained. To this Man, his Conscience is a Law; in such Men what is wanting but Water? since they have merited and received the Holy Spirit, as the Apostles. *Peter* testifying that some are filled with a divine *Afflatus*, and this Light, whom the mystical Water has not yet touch'd, and this Light of so Living, is the Gift of God, and proceeds from the Son, of whom it is written, that *He enlightens every Man coming into this World*. And according to this, *Paulus Schalichius*, in his Book *De Justitia & Jure*, and *De Gradatione*, writes, *Hæc nomina Filii Dei, verbum, mens opifex, Causa, cum apud veteres Philosophos habeantur, Platonem, Aristotelem & Anaxagoram, Chaldaeos, Sibyllas, Mercurium, Orphea, omnem Platoniam Gentem, apparet totam de Filio, quæ nunc colitur Theologiam cognitam, adoratam, prædicatam, antequam ipse Homo fieret*.

To give some Instances of what the *Gentiles* knew of this Spiritual Death and New Birth, beside what may appear in *Virgil's* 4th *Eclogue*, where I take that

Birth to be celebrated, I am of opinion that *Virgil's* second Eclogue was written as preparatory for those who were to be initiated in the New Birth: For, if I know any thing, that Eclogue was written, as by a skilful Pastor to one under his Care, according to the *Ars Amatoria* and *Obstetricia* of *Socrates*: For, as to what Interpreters commonly say, that *Virgil*, under the Name of *Corydon*, there sets forth his passionate Amour for a beautiful Youth given him by *Pollio*, I cannot acquiesce in it, but look on *Virgil* as a Man of a more serious Spirit, than to trifle with Posterity in recording an Amour in that kind: Nor did he, in my opinion, make his court in that Eclogue to *Cornelius Gallus*, for his Friendship, as some learned Men have judged, even this End, as it seems to me, not answering *Virgil's* great *Genius* and Depth of Sense. For whereas it's said by the Learned, that *Virgil* imitated *Theocritus* in his *Bucolicks*, *Hesiod* in his *Georgicks*, and *Homer* in his *Æneids*, and in them equalled *Homer*, surpassed *Hesiod*, but came much short of *Theocritus*; I must say that I cannot find any thing in *Theocritus* (I know not whether it may be for want of good Spectacles) which out-does *Virgil's* second and fourth *Eclogues*, in the Sense I understand them, and which I know may be applicable that way, however others may interpret them; tho' I well know the learned *Huetius* looks on *Virgil's* eighth *Eclogue*, as far exceeding any of the rest.

There were antiently among the *Gentiles*, as there are still among Christians, some contemplative Persons, who lived in the Woods, and used some uncommon ways of training for their Pupils; they played on the Seven-Reed Pipe of *Pan*, and sang their Lays to those they made love to. The Lessons they gave, carried a double Meaning, so that many times it was long before they were observed; but when they were, their Charms were such, that they seldom fail'd of Success. I know a Person, who, as soon as he heard

a Corydon singing to him in the Woods, presently wrote the following Answer, under the Name of Alexis, as follows:

ALEXIS

Corydoni suo summè colendo,
S. P. D.

SIT, quondam Pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin,
Delicias Domini, nec quid speraret habebat,
Tantum inter densas umbrosa Cacumina fagos
Assiduè veniebat, ibi sua carmina solus
Montibus & Sylvis studio jactabat inani.
O Corydon! si non flans in contraria Ventus
Obstiterat, dulcisq; tuæ modulamina vocis
Audisset, voto ille tuo certe obvius esset.
Non formosus erat, tali sed fretus Amore
Candidus est, sperat quoque se fore candidiorem.
Quis te despicet? tu quis sis quærit Alexis.
Quàm dives nivei pecoris, quàm lactis abundans
Nil dubitat, nunquam deerit tibi copia mellis.
Mille tibi Siculis errant in montibus agnæ,
Lac tibi non æstate novum non frigore desit,
Cantas quæ solitus si quando armenta vocabat
Amphion Dirceus in Aëtao Aracyntho.
Quòd sis formosus, faciant te littora certum
Dum placidum ventis stabit Mare, nec tibi Daphnii
Judice se præfert, te nunquam fallet imago.
O tantum liceat mihi tecum sordida rura
Atque humiles habitare casas, & figere cervos,
Hædorumq; gregem viridi compellere hibysco,
Tecum unà in sylvis imitari Pana canendo.
Pan primus calamos cerâ conjungere plures
Instituit, Pan curat oves oviumque magistros.
Nec me pæniteat calamo trivisse Labellum,
Hæc eadem ut sciret, quid non facturus Alexis?

*Est tibi disparibus septem compacta cicutis
 Fistula, Dametas dono tibi quam dedit olim,
 Et dixit moriens, te nunc habet ista secundum.
 Maxima dona equidem, paucis concessa beatis.
 Et talem, ut fatear, nuper mihi notus amicus
 Obtulit, heu, nimium durâ sub conditione.
 Præterea duo, nec tuta tibi valle reperti
 Capreoli, sparsis etiam nunc pellibus albo,
 Bina die siccant ovis ubera, quos mihi servas.
 Jampridem à te illos abducere Thestilis orat,
 Nec faciet, mihi chara nimis sunt munera vestra;
 En tibi jamque adsum, sunt & quia Pignora amoris,
 Tum tua nympharum quoque gratè dona recepto;
 Nec si muneribus certet victurus Iölas,
 Anne ego te fugiam? cum Sylvas Diique habitarunt,
 Dardaniusque Paris, placeant ante omnia Sylva,
 Torva læna lupum sequitur, lupus ipse capellam,
 Florentem cythisum sequitur lasciva capella,
 Jamque egomet Corydona, trahit sua quemque voluptas;
 Aspice aratra jugo referunt suspensa juvenci,
 Et Sol crescentes decedens duplicat umbras,
 Me tamen urit amor, quis enim modus adsit amor?
 Ab Corydon, Corydon, noli desistere cæpto,
 Semiputata tibi frondosâ vitis in ulmo est;
 Non aliàs transferto tuum, crudelis, amorem;
 Omnia, quæ sua sunt, tibi concessurus Alexis,
 Dulcia cantabis modò carmina sæpe petenti.*

Alexis was not satisfied by writing the foregoing Answer in Verse, but wrote also the following Epistle in Prose.

A L E X I S

Chironi, Dædalove suo summè colendo,

S. P. D.

Vir Clarissime,

EX omnibus Donis à Deo mortalibus concessis, Sapiëntia
 certè, quam in te singularem agnosco, primas tenet, &
 admi-

admiranda tua peritia in decanatissima Philosophorum Panaceâ conficiendâ valde me in tui admirationem rapuit, cujus vires fere super-humanas, vel multis è doctioribus incredibiles visas, te patrocinate, expertus sum. Gratias, quales potui, pro tantâ tuâ in me Beneficentiâ, jam olim tibi rependi in Epistolâ quadam à me scriptâ, utinam à te receptâ, easque jam pridem iterassem, si modus certus innotuisset, quo scripta mea ad manus tuas pervenirent. Legi equidem, apud Mystas, viros divino tuo fungentes munere, cum in Sylvis lateant, haud facilè cuipiam se cognoscendos dare ; proindeque parum spei est, nota mea apud te tantum Valetura, ut inter amicos familiares me recipere digneris, immo de tanta felicitate tantum non despondeo : hæc tamen adfari liceat, cum virum sapientissimum te cognosco, nilque nisi rationabile obsequium te à quocunque exopturum, sub quacunque lege & conditione, in amicorum numerum, si optare liceat, me recipies, ad omnia me paratissimum te inventurum spondeo. Verba desunt quibus ad amicitiam benevolentiamque te ulterius provocem. Vale felicissimè, Vir optime, Patrone generosissime !

Alexis having writ these two Epistles, never sent them, for want of a due Direction, as he complains in his foregoing Epistle, and intimates that he had sent Corydon another Epistle before, but doubted whether it came to his hands, tho he sent it to an Acquaintance of Corydon ; who owns the receipt of it, but is not free to own that Corydon ever received it, or to tell his true Name, or Place of Residence. The Epistle which this Person received, and was desired to convey it to Corydon, was as follows.

Vir Clarissime,

P*Lura olim legi de admirandâ potentiâ Artis & Naturæ, legi, at non intellexi, nec talia referentibus fidem adhibui ; jam verò tua dicam pietas, an generositas, certò benevolentia multò majora mihi hisce in rebus demonstravit, quam vel animo dubitanti quondam eis inesse suspicatus sum.*

sum. Quid autem res est? alter Deucalion à Prometheo admonitus de diluvio in montem Parnassi me recipi; prævalentibus undis, ac tandem subsidentibus eodem etiam monstrante viam, Dodonam adij, sylvamque vocalem peragravi: ubi, & dictu mirabile, animalium cum volatilium tum terrestrium Linguas, cæteris mortalibus ignotas, dictu citius edidici; immo &, Diis testibus, æva tinnientia ab Angelis pulsata, curretum Cymbala crepitantia, nascente Jove, admirandasque Spherarum harmonias, ter & amplius audiui: Noe cum aquæ terras cooperuerint, primo ex arcâ corvum emisit, avem infaustum, qui nec domino suo bonæ spei indicia reportavit, emisit tandem & columbam meliora experturus. Quid dicam? exundat animus, plura tamen de hisce Mysteriis erranti chartæ committenda non sunt. Et hæc fortassè malè sana videantur, ab animo licet multò saniori profecta, quam olim fuit. Deus, pro votis meis, te servit incolumem liceat mihi corporis salutem ei ex animo precari, à quo animi recepi medelam. Heu quales gratiæ pro quali munere? Vicit officium Linguae beneficii magnitudo. Vale felicissime.

*Verum ubi nulla fugam reperit fallacia victus,
In sese redit, atque hominis tandem Ore locutus.*

Now, I do not admire that Corydon was not free to be known to Alexis, notwithstanding the great Goodwill he might have born him, since *M. d'Herbilot*, in his *Bibliothèque Orientale*, tells us from the *Arabians*, under the Word *Asrar*, which signifies Secrets and Mysteries, that their mystical Writers say, they reveal their Secrets only to those who are capable of understanding them, and that even those to whom these Mysteries are unfolded, cannot declare them to others, since they ought to be concealed; and it ought to satisfy them, that they can entertain themselves in a mute Language, with him who has made them Partakers of so great a Favour; and it's known that the most learned and wisest Men, include various Senses

in

in what they write, and, as tho' they were doing another thing, hint to the Learned and Studious, wonderful Secrets, or *Arcana* of Natural and Divine Things.

If we look on *Virgil's Georgicks*, we shall find many Passages there, which show him to be acquainted in the Spiritual Death and New Birth. Near the beginning of his first *Georgick*, after he has said to *Augustus*, that the World was in great Expectation of him, whether he wou'd make himself famous by Sea, or by Land, or become a Constellation in the Heavens, he writes thus :

*Quicquid eris (nam te nec sperent Tartara Regem,
Nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido ;
Quamvis Elysios miretur Græcia Campos,
Nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina matrem)
Da facilem cursum, &c.*

*Whate'er you'll be (for Hell ne'er hopes you King,
Nor so seek Rule to wish so direful thing ;
Tho' Greece admires th' Elysian Fields, nor was
Proserpine fond with Ceres thence to pass)
Vouchsafe your Favour——*

Now these Verses manifestly show, that some *Sibyl* had led *Virgil* through the subterraneous Regions, as the *Sibyl* had carried *Æneas*, and other Heroes, thither ; (for as our learned *Sanford* observes, in his Work, *De Descensu Christi ad Inferos*, Lib. 2. *prope finem*. No great Man occurs in the Poets, but he some time descended into Hell) and that he had a free Intercourse to the *Elysian Fields*, otherwise he could not have told *Augustus* that the *Greeks* admired those Fields, nor know why those Fields were admired by them, nor why *Proserpine* was so well pleased with *Pluto's Habitation*, that she car'd not to return upon the Earth, when her Mother *Ceres* came to fetch her ;

nor why the Poet says, it's a direful thing to become King of Hell; nor (let me say it) are these Things knowable, without having past the Spiritual Death I have mentioned. And *Virgil*, in his sixth *Æneid*, admirably sets forth this Transaction, and the Labour that attends it; where we find that *Æneas* having a Desire to converse with his Father *Anchises*, in the *Elysian* Fields, applies himself to the Sybil, who presided over the Groves where the Entrance into the subterraneous Regions is, (being deputed to it by *Hecate*, who bears Sway in Heaven, Earth, and Hell) and desires her to be his Guide to lead him to him. Hereupon the Sybil well knowing the Labour there is in this Transaction, dissuades him from the Undertaking, saying to him,

———*Facilis descensus Averni;*

Noctes atque dies patet atri janua Ditis:

Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad Auras,

Hoc opus, hic labor est. Pauci quos æquus amavit

Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad Æthera Virtus,

Diis geniti, potuere; tenent media omnia Sylva,

Cocytusque sinu labens circumfluit atro.

Quod si tantus Amor menti, si tanta Cupido est,

Bis Stygios innare Lacus, bis nigra videre

Tartara, & insano juvat indulgere Labori;

Accipe quæ peragenda prius.

———*It's easy going to Hell;*

Black Dis's Gates we know are open still:

But to return, and rise to the bright Sun,

Here lies the toilsome Work; few this have done,

Whom Jove has lov'd; or ardent Vertues raise

Us to the Skies, or God-born Men; the Ways

That lie betwixt, with Woods are all beset,

And dread Cocytus close surrounds the Pit.

But if your Mind be such, so great your Zeal,

To visit twice the Stygian Lakes and Hell;

And

*And this mad Labour needs you'll undergo,
Then learn of me what first you have to do.*

And beneath, when *Æneas* comes to enter the Cave,
the Poet writes,

*—Procul, O! procul este profani,
Conclamat vates, totoque absistite luco.
Tūque invade viam, vagināque eripe ferrum,
Nunc animis opus, Ænea, nunc pectore firmo.*

*The Sibyl cries, Far now, O far be gone
From this whole Grove, you Men that are profane,
And you with Sword in Hand, come on your Way;
Æneas, now your Courage you must try.*

And when the Ghosts presented themselves before
Æneas, the Poet says,

*Corripit hic subitâ trepidus formidine ferrum
Æneas, strictamque aciem venientibus offert,
Et ni docta comes tenues sine corpore vitas
Admoneat, volitare cavâ sub imagine formæ,
Irruat, & frustra ferro diverberet umbras.*

*Æneas here with sudden Fright being scar'd,
Presents his Sword, and stands upon his Guard,
And if the Sibyl had not told him, they
Were airy Souls which such like Shapes display,
H'ad vainly strove with's Sword the Ghosts to slay.*

Now to explain this Transaction as clearly as may
be, it is to be considered, that the *Hades* of the an-
tient *Gentiles* signified both the Place of the *Elysian*
Fields, and the Place of Punishment of the Wicked;
or, properly, the invisible World, or the invisible
State of the Mind of Man after a corporal or spiri-
tual Death : and as it is a Priestly Function to bring

Men acquainted with the invisible World, or State, and to aid them in passing to it; so, by the Sybil, we must understand some Priest, or Clergyman, whose Office it is to perform this. And as the Sybil expostulates with *Æneas* concerning his Desire of twice going to Hell, or the *Hades*, this plainly intimates, that beside our natural Death, after which we come to this Knowledge, there is a spiritual Death, which some Men undergo in order to a Regeneration, being aided in it by a Sibyl: the Labour of which to the Undergoer is best known by Experience; and Dr. Wallis, as is intimated before, tells us, it is not so easy a thing as some may imagine. However, those who undergo it have this Maxim to comfort them, *Deus flagellat omnem Filium quem recipit.*

As for the *Ramus Aureus*, which must be carried as a Present to *Proserpina*, by those who will gain an Admittance into those subterraneous Regions, and have a free Intercourse there, I have explained it in the second Part of my *Considerations on Dr. Burnet's Theory of the Earth*, chap. 7. where I treat of *Paradise*.

By what I have set forth before from *Virgil*, I do not pretend to compare the Pagan Lustrations with those of Christians, they having not a like Foundation to proceed upon. However, it may not be ungrateful to consider how far human Reason guided them for purifying their Minds, and how far they proceeded in it.

Lomeierus, in his Book *de Lustrationibus Gentilium*, c. 15. where he treats concerning the Practice used by the *Gentiles* for purging their Minds, writes thus:

The *Gentiles* understanding, from the Dictates of Reason, that God is a most pure and holy Spirit, easily concluded they could not hold a Communion with him, unless they conformed themselves to his Image; and therefore all the greatest Men of Sense

among

among them judged a purging of the Mind to be the chief Religion. So *Pliny*, in his *Panegyrick on Trajan*, says, I observe the Gods are not so much pleased with the diligent Prayers of their Adorers, as with Innocency and Sanctity; and that he is more graciously received by them, who brings to their Temples a pure and chaste Mind, than another a meditated Prayer. And so *Persius*, *Sat. 2.*

*Quin damus id Superis, de magnâ quod dare lance
Non possit magni Messalæ lippa propago.
Compositum Jus fâsque Animo sanctosque recessus
Mentis, & incoctum generoso Pectus honesto,
Hæc cædo ut admoveam Templis & Farre litabo.*

*We give the Gods, what Great Men, from their Store,
Cannot present them, far from giving more :
A Mind sincere to God and Man we bear,
An honest Heart, not sway'd by Hopes or Fear,
Of this let me be still an Offerer.*

This Mystery lay hid under their lustral Ceremonies, which were instituted by their Ancestors for an Amendment of Manners, and rectifying the Exorbitances of Life; and they had recourse to Heaven as the Source of this Sanctity and interiour Purgation. So *Cicero*, *l. 2. de Nat. Deor.* Both our City and Greece have brought forth many singular Men, no one of whom is to be thought to have become so but by God's particular Assistance: Wherefore the Poets, and especially *Homer*, joins certain Gods with the chief Heroes, *Ulysses*, *Diomedes*, *Agamemnon*, *Achilles*, as Companions in their Dangers and Straits; and afterwards concludes, *No one, therefore, has ever been a Great Man without some Divine Afflatus.* Concerning the Poets that Passage is well known;

*Est Deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo,
Impetus hic Sacrae Semina Mentis habet.*

*God reigns in us, by's Actings we take fire,
Such Sallies, Seeds of Sacred Mind inspire.*

And *Aristotle* owned in Man a nobler Principle of his prosperous Fortune than Reason, saying, It is not Nature, nor Reason, but a good Genius guiding him, *Eth. Eudem. l. 7. c. 17.* And again, *ib. c. 18.* the Question being proposed, What is the Principle of Motion in the Soul? This Answer follows, It's manifest therefore that it is as God is in the Universe, and all things are again in him; for the same Deity that is in us, after some manner, moves all things; and the Principle of Reason is not Reason, but somewhat more excellent; and what is more excellent than Science but God? Which Place of *Aristotle*, *Scaliger* considering, *L. de Subtil. Exercit. 307. Sect. 25.* he starts this Question, What dost thou say, Divine Man! Is there somewhat better in us than Reason itself? Were the Rays of the Holy Ghost known to thee? The Genius of *Socrates* is well known. Indeed they made Philosophy the Instrument of interior Purgation, to which the wisest of the *Gentiles* ascribed a purging Force, for introducing Vertues, and bringing the Mind to a Likeness with the Deity. Hence *Cicero*, *Tusc. 5.* speaking of Philosophy, says, One day well past, according to thy Precepts, is to be preferred before a sinning Immortality. Whose Aid then shall we use before thine, who hast given us a Tranquillity of Life, and taken away the Terror of Death?

Plato, in his *Phædrus*, says, The Soul having fallen to inferiour Things, has broken its Wings, and is raised again by Contemplation; so that a Philosophical Meditation recovers those Wings. This is that
contem-

contemplative Life which the *Hebrews* and *Academicks* called a precious Death; and, *Plato* says, is to be desired by Wisemen, *Macrob. l. 1. in Som. Scip. c. 13.* the force of which is such, that it sharpens the Understanding, and separates Man from Man; which when he has attained, he sees not only the Secrets of natural Things, but likewise is carried with swift Wings, and a purged Mind, into Heaven, and is filled with the Knowledge of Divine Things. Afterwards being instructed by the immortal Gods, he reveals abstruse and admirable Things to ignorant Men. *Plato*, in his *Phædo*, says, this is called a Death, a Freeing and Separation of the Soul from the Body: And afterwards, Those chiefly and only desire to free it and separate it, who rightly philosophize; and therefore a Philosopher does not fear Death, because he is not a Lover of the Body. Such are celebrated by *Ovid*, *Fast. 1.*

*Felices Animæ, quibus hæc cognoscere primum,
Inque Domus Superas scandere Cura fuit;
Credibile est, illas pariter Vitiisque Jocisque,
Altiùs humanis exeruisse Caput.
Non Venus & Vinum sublimia Pectora fregit,
Officiūve fori, militiæve Labor;
Nec levis Ambitio, perfusâque Gloria fuco,
Magnarūmve Fames sollicitavit Opum:
Admovêre Oculis distantia Sidera nostris,
Ætheraque Ingenio supposuêre suo.
Sic petitur Cælum——*

*Thrice happy those, who make their chief Delight
To know these Things, and take this lofty Flight;
We may believe such rais'd above the Sphere
Of trifling Jokes and Vices reigning here.
No Lust, nor Wine, no Toils of War, or Gown,
These soaring Minds have shaken and cast down;*

*Nor vain Ambition, nor false Glory's View,
 Nor worldly Cares these ever could subdue :
 The distant Stars they've brought down to our Eyes,
 As by their Wit they mounted to the Skies.
 Thus Heaven is gain'd——*

I may insert here also what *Cælius Rhodiginus* has writ concerning these Matters, *l. 7. c. 13.* Those who have writ that the *Socratick* Institutions are a sort of Image, or, at least, a Shadow of the Christian Integrity, and that the *Old Testament* is confirmed by the *Platonick Theology*, and the *new* by the Wisdom and Manners of *Socrates* ; these truly, let it be said without Envy, either solely, or with very few, seem to have conceived the Depth of the Things which God was pleased by some secret way to instill into the Minds of those Men : for in *Plato's* Book concerning the Soul, after *Socrates* has taught us that the Meditation of a true Philosopher consists in this, that the Soul purge and separate itself from the Body ; and that true Vertue consists in a purifying, which is attained by Wisdom, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance he presently subjoins, Wherefore those who have established Mysteries, are by no means to be neglected, for they seem earnestly to admonish us by some secret way, that whoever go to *Hades*, not so purged and initiated, wallow in the Dirt as the Generality of Men do, but that the others live with the Gods ; and therefore it's commonly said, *Multi Thyrsiferi, sed Bacchi Perpauci*, and only these very few are rightly instructed in Philosophical Mysteries. And as *Bacchus* is taken for a genuine Philosopher, and a Man qualified *ad Unguem* ; so the *Platonicks* think him sometimes taken for some Chief Priest, whom Mythologers affirm to have been twice born ; signifying, that a Priest, presently upon his being initiated, must be reborn, or that the Mind of a perfect Priest

Priest being wholly inebriated with the Deity, seems then to be born anew. So far *Rhodiginus*.

But for a more perfect purging of the Soul, and a more sublime Contemplation, the Philosophers proceeded to that Species of Magick, called *Theurgia*; concerning which see *St. Austin de Civ. Dei, l. 10. c. 9.* Besides this, applying themselves to Contemplation, they minded that Part of Philosophy which directs the Will and Affections; for a Discomposure of these is a great Lett to the purging of the Mind, as *Boethius* sings, *Lib. 1. de Consol. Philos.*

*Tu quoque si vis
Lumine claro,
Cernere verum,
Tramite recto,
Carpere callem,
Gaudia pelle,*

*Pelle Timorem,
Spemque fugato,
Nec Dolor adsit,
Nubila Mens est
Vinetaque Frœnis;
Hæc ubi regnant.*

*If you'd see Truth, and take the straitest way,
Discharge your Mind from Hope, Fear, Grief, and Joy;
That Soul is clouded, and in Fetters bound,
Where these do reign——*

And to cure this Evil the Philosophers, and chiefly *Socrates*, brought the Philosophy of Life and Manners among Men, and made them enquire into what was Good and Evil; which he did after a pleasant manner: for to take away Vice, he commanded somewhat which was very like to Vice; as to take away Love, he brought in Love: for in many Dialogues of *Plato* he shews himself to be a true Lover; which some Men not well perceiving, have charged that Holy Man of an execrable Crime. So in *Zenophon's* Feast he calls himself the Pander of Men; after the same manner, if he saw one addicted to Pleasure, he commended true Pleasure; if to Riches, he commended true Riches: By which sweet

way of acting, he did not properly so much draw Men, as lead them; nor root out Vices, as wash them away. The *Stoicks* way of acting was contrary; for to take away great Vices from Men, they would not admit the least, nay they would have all to be equal; which *Cicero* also, in his *Paradoxes*, argued for, according to the Sense of the *Stoicks*. And to turn Men from Vice, they allowed no Passions, which others, by a wholesome Method, converted to a Habit of Vertue.

Thus, in this Life, these Purgations proceeded, till the Soul being freed from the Fetters of the Body, was carried back to its Divine Principle whence it had its Origin, as *Boethius* says, *de Consol. Phil.* l. 3.

*Quas Lege benignâ
Ad te conversas, reduci facis Igne reverti.*

*Which, turn'd to you, still by your gracious Law,
And circling Fire, into yourself you draw.*

This, I conceive, is enough to shew, that many of the *Gentiles* were acquainted in the Spiritual Death and New Birth; to which I shall only add, that the Story of *Aristeus* and *Proteus*, in the fourth *Georgick* of *Virgil*, and many other Passages in his Works, are not to be understood but by Persons experimentally knowing in the spiritual Death; and I shall note, that the *Gentiles* were commonly brought to the Knowledge of that Death by some secret Practices, which are not accounted lawful: so that they came in by the Window, and not by the Door, which a due training leads to.

Cicero, in his *Tusculan Questions*, l. 5. after having considered those that take a View of the World, and observe the Motions of the Celestial Bodies, the Order of Things, their Rise and Origin, Life and Death, the Vicissitude and Changes of Things from

one

one into another, &c. has this Expression, *Hæc tractanti animo & noctes & dies cogitanti, existit illa à Deo Delphis præcepta cognitio, ut ipsa se mens vitiis exutam cognoscat, conjunctamque cum mente divina se sentiat, ex quo insatiabili gaudio compleatur.* Which Expression I cannot conceive any Man could so feelingly make, as he seems to do, unless he had pass'd the Spiritual Death I have mentioned: So when I read the 34th Ode of Horace——

Parcus Deorum cultor & infrequens, &c.

I cannot but conclude he had a Spiritual Visitation, whereby he was brought off from his licentious Opinion to former Thoughts, or a New Birth, as it may be called. He expresses his Visitation, which occasioned his Return, by an unusual Thunder happening in a clear Sky: But those who know what Practices the antient Pastors used on such Occasions, may have another Interpretation of that Thunder; not but such a Thunder might happen: For M. Voisin, in his dedicatory Preface to his Book, entituled *Theologia Judæorum*, which Dedication is to the Prince of Conde, tells him, among other Things, that as he was carrying to be baptized, a great Clap of Thunder happened when the Sky was serene; as another also did at the Time when he was baptized. That *Theologia Judæorum* may be worth reading, because the Author there shews from the Books of the Hebrews, that the same thing which is now called the Christian Religion, was in being with the Antients before Christ came in the Flesh.

So Lucan, L. 1. v. 300. & seq. speaks of Thunder in a clear Sky:

Fulgura fallaci micuerunt crebra sereno.

And beneath,

—————*Tacitum sine nubibus ullis*

Fulmen, et Arctois rapiens de partibus ignem

Percussit Latiale caput.

Those who find a Difficulty to admit that a Regeneration has past among the *Gentiles*, may read what a great Master of a contemplative Life has writ, which perhaps may make the Admittance of it not to seem so difficult. He writes thus : God is extremely various in his Operations, differing in the Ways by which he leads Souls to the Perfection of his Love. We see daily, by Experience, before our Eyes, that some Persons shall labour all their Lives, with all Sincerity, both in mortifying their Nature, and in macerating themselves with pious Austerities, and trying to fill themselves with all Virtues, employing in it all possible Industry, who nevertheless shall never be worthy of having the experimental Knowledge of the true Spirit of God, nor of his secret Ways, or interiour Operations, which he shows the Souls he hath chosen ; or if they arrive at it, it's very late, and after long and great pains-taking. Others, on the contrary, shall have no sooner set their Foot in the way of Perfection, but soon, after a true Sorrow for their Sins past, behold ! God will communicate to them so great an Affluence of Gifts, Graces, and Spiritual Lights, that presently he discovers to them the Operations of the most noble Faculties of their Souls, to show them whither he will one day draw them : and what is more, it often happens, that where Sin has most abounded, there also God will show himself most abundantly in the Communication of his Favours : A thing indeed wholly wonderful, are these inscrutable Secrets of the Divine Wisdom. See *Barbanfon, in Præf. in L. 2. De Amoris Divini Occultis Semitis*. This, perhaps, may lessen the Strangeness of what Favours God may have shown to some of the *Gentiles*.

I shall add one thing here, which was practised by the antient *Gentiles*, for purifying the Mind, and is known to few : They joined, with their Morality, the occult Doctrine of the Celestial Motions ; a Doctrine so antient, that *Chiron* taught it *Achilles*, and it came originally from the *Ægyptians*, whose antient Priests, as *Pierius* tells us, were so thoroughly seen in all the Obscurity of Nature, that that Discipline seems to have been handed down to them by Inheritance : And Commentators tell us, that the Learning delivered in *Virgil's* sixth *Æneid*, was taken *ex altissimâ Ægyptiorum Disciplinâ*. And it is observable, that *Virgil* has given us eleven Hexasticks, each containing the twelve Signs of the Zodiack, which it's probable he would not have amused himself in composing, unless he had known somewhat highly valuable in Astrology. *Dietericus*, in his *Specimen Antiq. Bibl.* p. 585. writes, That the *Ægyptians* are said to have been the first of Mortals, who by their Study, and the Greatness of their Genius, attained the Knowledge of the Course of the Heavens, and of all the Celestial Motions ; to have been the first who prescribed a Form of Living, and the Discipline of Manners ; that their Astrology has brought forth a superstitious Physiology and Theology ; that it has introduced the pernicious Magical Arts, and Demoniacal Expiations ; concerning which Magical Theology of the Eastern People, we expect a peculiar Tract from *Gilbert Gaulmin*. So far *Dietericus*. So *Prudentius*, in his second Book against *Symmachus*, speaking of the Devil, says, v. 894.

In Magicas Artes trahit involuitque Mathefin.

So again, v. 479.

Nec præscripto aliquo pellet pia vota Mathefis.

To this secret Science of the *Egyptians* for purifying the Mind, a certain Transaction celebrated by the Poets may be said to relate. They tell us, that when *Jupiter* was born, the *Curetes* preserved him from *Saturn*, who was wont to devour his Children, they making a noise with their Timbrels and Dancing; so that *Saturn* could not hear the Infant's Cries, and he was safely conveyed away. Some say the *Curetes*, *Cabiri*, *Telchines*, *Corybantes*, and *Daſtyli Idei*, were the same; some thought them near allied, tho somewhat differing, and that they were moved with a Fury; that they resided not only in *Candia* and *Phrygia*, but likewise in *Samothracia*, formerly called *Dardania*, and in *Lemnos*. *Archemacus* of *Euboea* says the *Curetes* inhabited *Chalcis*, whence they were called *Chalcidians*, from their Arms of Brass. Some say they were Gods; others say they were Servants of the Gods; and others say they were Dæmons.

Now, if you desire to know what these *Curetes* really were, I will tell you; as I am assured by a Person who says he has often seen them, and conversed with them: They were those *Genii*, or familiar Spirits, which now and then attend some Persons, either coming of their own accord, or being caused to appear to them by some Art, as *Porphyrius* tells us in *Eusebius*, they may, as *Pfellus* does also, *lib. de Dæmon*. And as for the good Office they are said to have perform'd in saving *Jupiter*, by the Sound of their Tymbrels, &c. you must know that this *Jupiter* is construed by some to be that new Birth which is brought forth in us, and which was also brought forth among the *Gentiles*, as appears by their Expressions concerning those who were initiated in their Mysteries; and those *Curetes* or *Genii* attend with their various harmonious Sounds, chiefly at the time of that new Birth, tho' those Sounds and Apparitions are then perceived only by the Persons concerned, to whom they seem, or are real, tho' not to any Standby:

by : And if in celebrating the Mysteries of *Rhæa*, or the Mother of the Gods, Persons under the Name of *Curetes*, *Coribantes*, &c. made noises with their Tymbrels, Cymbals, &c. this was only outwardly to personate and typify what the *Genii* inwardly performed. So *Bullialdus*, in his Notes on *Theon-Smyrnæus*, c. 1. which Author he translated from the Greek into Latin, observes that *Eustathius* on this Verse of *Homer's Iliad* 16.

Ἐκ πόντοιο θύραζε λίνω καὶ ἥνοπι Χαλκῶν,

Says, ἥνοπι, that is, ἥνοπα, signifies vocal ; for of all inanimate things, Brass alone seems to have a Voice : and the *Pythagoreans* say, *That Brass rings*, omni Spiritui diviniore ; and therefore the Tripod made of that Metal, was consecrated to *Apollo*. And all Winds ceasing, the Air being calm, and all other things being silent and still, hollow Basons seem to be struck, and made to ring. And to my certain Knowledge, these ringings are heard by some Persons still, as I have set forth at large in my Book of *Genii*, or *Familiar Spirits*, c. 5. Where I have given an account of what Perception Men have had of Spirits by the Sense of Hearing ; which Book was extant long before I met with this Passage of *Eustathius*, and which I was glad to see, as it satisfies me that many of the Ancients were wont to hear such Ringings ; and doubtless these harmonious Ringings were what the *Pythagoreans* are said to have called *The Harmony of the Spheres*. At the famous Temple of *Jupiter Dodonæus*, the ringing of the *Dodonæan* Brass was so celebrated, as *Philostratus* tells us, that the Brass Statue of the Nymph *Echo* was there set up, holding her Finger on her Mouth, to shew that she was silent, being overcome by the resonant *Dodonæan* Basons, much more sonorous than herself. The Epitomator of *Strabo*, for *Strabo* himself, through the Injury of Time, was defective in this place, says thus :

thus: The Proverb *Dodonæan Brass* had hence its Rise; there was a Bason in the Temple, over which the *Statua* of a little Man hung, holding in his Hand a Brass Whip which consisted of a triple Chain, having Knobs hanging to it, which continually striking the Brass Vessel, as it was blown up by the Wind, made great Sounds. *Suidas* says, that *Dæmon* tells us the Oracle of *Jupiter Dodonæus* was compassed all round with Basons; one of which being struck, all resounded one after the other, so that the Circuit of that Sound lasted a long time. The same *Suidas* says at the same place, a *Statua* stood there placed on high, holding a Rod in his Hand; and near the *Statua* was a Bason, whence a certain harmonious, pleasant, and sweet Sound proceeded. *Aristotle*, according to *Suidas*, describes this Oracle otherwise; he says there were two Columns, on one there was a Bason, and on the other stood a Body with a Whip in his Hand, whose Cords were made of Brass; when they were moved by the Wind, they struck against the Bason, and so gave a Sound. I have given these Instances, as looking on those *Statua's* striking on the Basons, to be only Types of what the *Genii* perform to those who lie under a certain Operation for initiating them in the Mysteries of the Ancients. *Archemachus* the *Euboean* says the *Curetes* inhabited *Chalcis*, and were called *Chalcideans* from their Brass Arms: and Brass is thought very proper in Religion and Sacred Rites. So *Theocritus*, *Idyll.* 2. according to Mr. Creech's apt Translation,

*Hark, Thestylis! our Dogs begin to howl,
The Goddess comes, go beat the brasen Bowl.*

Where the Scholiast notes, a Noise was made by beating on Brass when the Moon was in an Eclipse, and at the Deaths of People; for Brass was thought to be pure and good for cleansing Pollutions: wherefore

fore *Apollodorus* says, *l. de Diis*, it was used in all Consecrations and Expiations.

So *Hercules* is said to have made the *Aves Stymphalides*, by some called *Ploidas*, to fly from *Arcadia* to the Island *Aretia*, by the ringing of a Brass Instrument, when he could not otherwise conquer them. So *Apollonius*, *l. 2. Argonaut.*

*Sed neque ut Arcadium petiit vis Herculis, arcu
Ploidas inde lacu volucres Stymphalidas ullâ
Pellere vi potuit, namque hoc ego lumine vidi.
Ast idem ut manibus Crotalum pulsavit in altâ,
Existens speculâ prospectans, protinus illæ
Cum clamore procul linquentes littus, ierunt.*

*When Hercules t' Arcadia went to clear
The Lake of the Stymphalian Birds were there ;
With Bow he could not do it ; I saw the thing :
But he no sooner made his Cymbal ring,
Being got aloft in a watch Tower, when they
Being scar'd, strait with loud Clamours flew away.*

And that *Crotalum*, with which he frightened away those Birds, is said to have been made by *Vulcan*, and to have been given him by *Pallas*, the *Crotalum* being a musical Instrument of Brass used by the *Egyptian* Priests, and struck on with an Iron Rod ; and I doubt not but it was introduced by them with other musical Instruments among their Magical Practices, by Analogy to what passes in the Minds of some Men as they lie under certain Visitations : the *Egyptian* Priests being skill'd in the ways for disposing the Minds of Men to perceive such Ringings, as well as for discerning or seeing Apparitions. And *Seneca*, in his *Agamemnon*, says, that *Hercules* also, with the Sound of his *Crotalum*, drove away the Dragon which guarded the golden Fruits in the Gardens of the *Hesperides*.

*Audivit Sonitum crepitante Lamnâ
 Frigidus custos, nescius Semni ;
 Linqueret cum jam nemus omne fulvo
 Plenus Alcides vacuum Metallo.*

Note here, 'That whereas I have above translated the word *Crotalum*, a Cymbal, as many do, *Adolphus Lampe*, in his ingenious *Traçt, de Cymbalis veterum*, l. 3. c. 12. declares it his Opinion, that the *Crotalum* was a double Iron Plate, tho' I rather think it of Brass, and that the one striking against the other caused the ringing Noise. In *Seneca* the word *Lamna* is used for *Lamina*. *Frigidus Custos* was the Dragon, so *Virgil* says, *frigidus Anguis*.

That Men may not wonder at the Exposition I have given of the *Curetes*, &c. I may acquaint you that *Strabo*, who has writ much concerning them, l. 10. tells us, That, as many things are written Historically concerning the *Curetes*, &c. so many are written Theologically, and after the way of the Poets ; and so as they may be brought under a Philosophical Scrutiny, and as other Men may give what Interpretation they please of them, so I have attended to the Theological Sense, and write from a Transaction which a certain Person known to me has seen to pass before his Eyes : and let me say it once for all, that all Mysteries of Religion, which do not tend to the purifying of the Mind, and a settling it in the Telestical State of the new Birth, seem to me to go beside the great End to which Providence and Men of the soundest Sense have always directed them. If any Man should go about to restrain all that is writ concerning the *Curetes*, &c. to the plain literal Sense, he would find nothing but Confusion. When any thing occurs in my reading which shocks my Understanding, after I have turn'd my Thoughts every way, I try to verify that spiritually, which I cannot do according to the Letter,

Letter, and often find an Ease to my Mind that way. *Philo*, and *Origen*, and the other Allegorical Fathers proceed this way in expounding the Scriptures; and I think we must follow the same, to find a tolerable Sense in many more things deliver'd by the Ancients, than some Men seem willing to allow. The aforesaid *Strabo* says, Some affirm the *Corybantes* to be certain *Dæmons*, the Children of *Minerva*, and the Sun, others the Children of *Saturn*, others the Children of *Jupiter*, and *Alliope*, and that they are the same with the *Cabiri* and *Curetes*, and that their Actions are mystical; that all Discourse concerning the Gods enquires into the ancient Opinions and Fables, occultly insinuating the natural Thoughts of the Ancients concerning things themselves, and always expounding the Fable in discoursing: but clearly to solve all the *Ænigma's*, he thinks not easy, tho' it's easy to draw together a Heap of agreeing and disagreeing Fables. *Lillius Givaldus* in his *Syntag. Hist. Deor.* intimates, that it's a wonderful thing is delivered concerning the *Cabiri*, if it may deserve belief; viz. that those who were initiated in their Mysteries were believed to escape all Tempests at Sea; which is very true, if it be taken in a right Sense: for it imports no more, than that he that is initiated in those Mysteries is become superiour to his Passions, so that nothing can move him.

———*Streptumque Acherontis avari*
Subjecit pedibus.

As for those that would see more concerning the *Curetes*, &c. I refer them to *Strabo*, *Lillius Givaldus*, *Calcagninus*, in his Dialogue entitl'd, *Equitatio*; *Meursius*, in his *Creta*; *Guthelbertus*, de *Mysteriis Deorum Cabirorum*, &c. I shall add one thing here concerning the *Curetes*. *Delvius*, in his Comment on *Seneca's Thyestes*, writes thus: *Arnobius* tells us, from *Nigidius*, that some have thought the *Lares* of the *Latins* to be the

same with those the *Greeks* call *Idai Daëtyli* and *Curetes*; and, I think, if a Man joins what I have written concerning the *Genii* on *Seneca's Medea*, and concerning the *Manes* on his *Oedipus*, with what I have writ here concerning the *Lares*, he will find no unaccurate Account of those obscure Names; and I refer Men to the Author. But I have look'd on *Arnobius*, and find that he was nauseated at the Confusion he found among the *Gentiles* concerning those Names, and writes thus near the end of his third Book, after having spoken of the *Curetes*, *Lares*, &c. you see nothing is here said coherent, nor any thing on which a Man, by a fair Conjecture, may rely; for the Opinions so waver, and one so confutes the other, that either nothing is true at all in them, or if some one of them may be so, we know not which it is, through such a Diversity of things; unless haply you will say, that tho' we do not personally know who the *Lares*, who the *Pennates*, &c. are, yet we may believe that there are such Beings, since the Consent of Authors maintains it, and that they are rank'd among the Celestial Beings according to their order. So far my Abstract from *Arnobius*.

Now, as to my own Judgment in these Matters, I can only say, that when I read any thing among the *Gentiles* concerning the *Genii*, *Lares*, *Lemures*, *Larvæ*, *Manes*, *Curetes*, &c. I direct my Thoughts to my own Experience concerning them, having frequently seen and conversed with them, and think myself less deceived than those who try to verify what is said of them some other way. A great part of what the *Gentiles* have writ concerning them, relates to the Magical Practices which were so common among them, nor is it to be understood without some insight in that kind. *Agrippa*, in his *Epistle to Trithemius*, L. 1. Ep. 25. says, it's a great question, Why Magick, which, in the Judgment of all the ancient Philosophers, was look'd upon as the most sublime Reach of Human

Human Knowledge, and was always had in the highest Veneration among the antient Priests and Sages, became afterward suspected, and always hated, by the holy Fathers, from the beginning of Christianity; and, at length, was exploded by Divines, condemned by the Canons, and proscribed by the Consent of all Laws: and he intimates several Ways of the Corruption of that Science, on which account it was suppress'd. But, in my Opinion, he does not assign the main Cause for it: For as Actions are specified from their End, so the great Cause of its Suppression, was, that many apply'd it, or might have apply'd it, to a wrong End, that Science not being Diabolical in its Nature, as some may imagine: But, as *Pfellus* says, *L. de Dæmon. c. ult.* it's a certain Faculty judged by the *Greeks* to be of an eminent Virtue, and the highest Portion of the Priesthood. And *Aristotle, Met. L. 14. C. 6.* places the *Magi* among the Wisemen.

As in what I have here writ, I have often inserted Things relating to the Theology of the *Gentiles*, which is much ridicul'd by the Christian Fathers; perhaps it may not be an ungrateful Office, if I lay before the World, what, according to my Reading, seems the Truth of the Matter. *Galeottus Martius*, in his Book entitled, *Doctrina Promiscua*, c. 17. writes thus: All the Elements have the Names of Gods, and were accounted Gods among the Antients; for Antiquity called the Fire, *Vulcan*; the Air, *Juno*; the Water, *Neptune*, or *Oceanus*; the Earth *Tellus*, or *Pluto*: but Men of Sense might say, whence did this Madness seize those wise Men, that they should believe the Elements Gods, so that they offer'd Sacrifices to certain Effects of them?

Nigram Hyemi pecudem, Zephyris felicibus albam.

For Oblations occur every where. Now it is to be observed, that according to the Opinion of *Plato*,
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the Ideas of Things ; that is, the Forms, and as I may say, Seals (for the Idea is the original Species of Things) are perpetual. And to be more clear, let us give an Example ; among a Hundred thousand Horses, or Bullocks, or of other Species, if we will find the Beginning and Origin, by going back from this last Horse to his Sire, and from this Sire to another Sire, and so on, we must necessarily come to one Horse immortal and perpetual, begotten of none, which made the others ; and so concerning Bullocks, &c. therefore that increated and immortal Horse, being as the Seal of the others, is nothing, to speak as a Christian, but the Equine Form and Idea in the Divine Mind ; for *Aquinas* manifestly declares that the Ideas of all things are in the Divine Mind, and that they are the Divine Essence, by which God sees and knows all things. Antiquity therefore called the Idea of the Earth, in the Divine Mind, *Pluto, Tellus, Ceres, Cybele*, under differing Respects : The Idea, that is, the Form of the Water, *Neptune, Oceanus, Nereus* ; of the Air, *Juno and Pallas* ; of the Fire, *Vulcan and Vesta* ; all which Things they often called also by other Names, by reason of divers Effects ; for the Goddess *Pomona* is the Virtue and Idea given Trees, procreating the Fruits on the Branches ; therefore in *Pliny* she speaks thus : *I generate the Juice of Wine, and the Liquor of Oil ; I, Branches and Fruits, &c.* They accounted therefore the Eternal and Immortal Forms in the Divine Mind for Gods, and worshipped them, and that rightly ; because nothing is in God, but God. Now they understood these Ideas and Forms of all Things in the Divine Simplicity, after various Ways : Some interpret the Words of *Plato*, as if he would say, that those Ideas are Angels, who, by the Divine Command, had the care of creating Things, God's Majesty being at Rest. The Mathematicians differ in this Matter ; some say the Heavens are animated, creating all Things by the Images sealed in them ; for
there

there are 48 known, the unknown being in a manner innumerable; and that from these Images, as from the Ideas of Things, all Things in the World have drawn their Origins, to their Likeness; so that the Form of a Lion, forms a Lion; of a Horse, a Horse; and so in the rest. Yet some, not only Mathematicians, but Interpreters of the Scripture, as *Albert* and *Thomas* say, that the Heavens are the Instrument of God, wherewith he works: And this Opinion does not differ from that before, unless it be that the former makes the Soul of the World to be God, and the latter holds that God was the Creator of all Things, and that he formed them animate or inanimate; but as to the Formation of the Ideas, they seem to think the same: For if God uses the Heavens as an Instrument, in producing things, as they say, it's truly nothing else, but to command that the Forms existing in the Heavens, do what God wills, and that this was ordered from Eternity, as God said it, and Things were made, he commanded, and Things were created. Antiquity therefore, as Christianity thinks, worshipped the Ideas of the Divine Mind; for calling the Idea of the Fire, *Vulcan*; of the Air, *Juno*; of the Water, *Neptune*; of the Earth, *Pluto*; it owned them as Eternal and Immortal Gods; and when they offered Sacrifices, as black Cattle to the Winter, they intended them as pleasing to the Divine Will. So that what Things are thought very foolish by the Ignorant, being taken with a Grain of Salt, came by the highest Wisdom into Honour and Worship; among which Things, nothing is judged more beside Reason than to have imagined *Priapus* a God, and to have worshipp'd him; concerning whom I shall give you a few things: *Priapus* and *Lampsacus*, were Towns in *Hellepont*, and at *Priapus*, *Rusticus quidam tanta membri virilis magnitudine fuit, ut è Civitate pulsus sit, ne mulieres devastaret*. Whence they called *Priapus* from the Place, and dedicated a Temple to him, as to a Deity:

Deity: And tho' *Virgil* calls him the last and a new Deity, yet in the Scripture, an antient mention is made of him. So *Reg. L. 3. c. 15. v. 13.* it is written; And *Afa* removed his Mother *Maacha* from being Queen, lest she should be the chief Leader in the Ceremonies of *Priapus*, and in the Grove she had consecrated to him; and he demolished his Cave, and brake the most filthy Image, and burnt it by the Brook *Kedron*. But wise and acute Men will say, whence comes it that so great a Madness seized the Antients, *Ut membro virili, tam turpi, tamque abhorrendo, ut sine infamia nominari non possit, Aras dedicaverint, Tempa adificaverint, Sacrificia obtulerint, ita ut non modo Gentilitatem, Dæmonum solertia delusam, sed Judæam quoque, ubi veri Dei cultus frequens erat, hæc monstra invaserint.* These learned and acute Men are answered before, for they worshipp'd the Ideas of Things, and dedicated Temples and Statues with their Ensigns to them, not without a Cause; for when they assign a Viper to *Æsculapius*, who does not see, if he minds what we have said concerning *Venice Treacle*, that the Vertue of the Viper is very great in Medicines? In this respect therefore, they ascribe it to *Æsculapius*, as the God of Physick. They dedicated a Temple to *Priapus*, because Antiquity worshipp'd the Idea of Fecundity, and because among all cultivated Things, Gardens are the most fruitful, therefore they called this Idea of Fecundity, the God of Gardens; and as they intended to make an Image and *Statua* for this God, they set up a Virile Member, as the most fertile Part of Man; for among all Things that carry a Resemblance of Fecundity, the Virile Member is the chief, for it represents the Fecundity of those Things, than which Nature has produced nothing more excellent, nothing more divine, for it shews Man as the Fruit of its Fecundity: They worshipp'd therefore this Image of the Virile Member, because it presents the Idea of Fecundity; and among those things Fecundity presents, this is
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the most excellent, for the precious Frame of Man surpasses the other Fruits we have of Fecundity ; they rightly therefore made the *Virile Member* the Image of that Idea. I have thought good to say this, that ignorant Men may not think it so foolish a thing to have adorn'd Temples with a Virile Member, and to have given it a divine Worship, for Human Reason conjectured these Things ; and it might fail, and Errors might easily arise : But in the Christian Faith, nothing but Truth shines, for it's divinely inspired, and has expunged the Errors of the Antients ; and in divine Things, Human Conjectures do not suffice, but an Inspiration from Heaven is necessary to enlighten the Minds of Men, and so instruct them, that they may not be misled by fallacious Errors, and may be recalled from Human Conjectures, and directed to Heaven : So far *Galeottus Martius*. If those who read the Fathers, where they reflect on the Religion of the antient *Gentiles*, would take what is before written with them, they would not probably think the *Gentiles* so ridiculous as the Fathers, on all Occasions, seem to make them.

The uncommon Explication I gave of *Virgil's* 4th *Eclogue*, has drawn after it the long Sequel of Thoughts I have here given you, which tho' somewhat remote from the Subject of the Oracles of the *Sibyls*, first proposed by me, may still be said to relate to a sort of Oraculous Disposition of Mind, which attends that New Birth I so often mention. If the Uncommonness of the Subject may make it seem odd to some Persons, and draw a Censure from them, perhaps it may draw also the Poet's Reply ;

O major tandem parcas insane minori !



A

DISCOURSE

OF THE

ORACLES

*Deliver'd at Delphos, and the
other Temples of the GEN-
TILES; and of the Cessa-
tion of them, both among
the JEWS and GENTILES.*



HERE is this Difference betwixt the Oracles delivered at the Temples of the Gentiles, and the Oracles of the Sibyls; that the former chiefly regarding Human Affairs, belonging to the Happiness of this Life, predicted the good and evil Successes of future Things. And we seldom find in History that

the Dæmons were consulted concerning a better Life, or eternal Blifs after Death: But the Prophecies of the Sibyls did not stop in Human Affairs, but are believed to have opened a Way, by divine Inspiration, of true Happiness to the *Gentiles*, involved in the Darknefs of monstrous Errors and Superstitions. But as there is a Doubt concerning the Authority of the Sibylline Prophecies, so there is concerning the Truth of the other Oracles: and as I have declared it my Opinion, that the Writers of the Sibylline Oracles, were the Mannagers of the other Oracles, they having chiefly presided in religious Matters, and preceded all the Poets; so I look on all the other Oracles, and all the Divinatory Arts, to be vain and useles Amusements of Mankind; not but now and then, there may be true Predictions: but there is that Contingency in them, that take one time with another, they are so far from being worth while, that they do more Hurt than Good; beside those impious and execrable Practices which those Oracles have often dictated to Men. I know the Antients were divided in Opinion concerning this Matter. *Lucan Pharsal. 5.* writes thus: (tho' perhaps more from the Opinion of the Vulgar, than his own Sense)

*Non ullo sæcula dono
Nostra carent majore Deûm, quam Delphica Sedes
Quòd siluit, postquam Reges timuère futura,
Et Superos vetuère loqui.*—

*Our Age has lost no Gift of God so great,
As by the Silence of the Delphick Seat:
And this, 'cause Princes fearing what will come,
Forbid the Gods to tell their fatal Doom.*

But others are of a contrary Opinion; see *Theodoret's* Book of Oracles, where he sets forth the great Evils were caused by them, and gives the first Instance

Instance in the *Athenians*, who, being press'd by a Famine, consulted the Oracle; and the *Pythia* answered it would not cease till the *Athenians* sent seven young Men, and as many Virgins, to *Minos*, to be devour'd by the *Minotaur*. *Eusebius* in his *Præp. Evang.* says much on the same Subject. See also *Dr. Clasen*, in his Book concerning the Oracles and Sibyls, c. 18. where he sets forth at large, many absurd and impious Answers of the Oracles; and this Author may be look'd upon *instar omnium*, he having written more comprehensively on the Oracles and Sibyls, than any other Author. And any one that considers the pernicious Consequences that followed on the ambiguous Answers of the Oracles to *Cræsus*, and many others, may easily be satisfied of the Folly of Men in applying to them; and indeed, it seems to me a wonder that they lasted so long in the World. *Plutarch*, in his Tract, why the Prophetess *Pythia* ceas'd to deliver Oracles in Verse, tells us, that they had lasted 3000 Years; whereas our learned *Marshall*, in his *Canon Chronicus*, under the fourth Age from the Deluge, where he speaks of the Oracles of *Egypt*, whence the *Greeks* are said first to have had their Oracles, says, the chiefest of the Oracles of *Egypt*, was that of *Latona*, in the Town *Buti*; and that an Oracle came thence to *Mycerinus*, King of *Memphis*, in the fifth Age, that he should live but six Years, and die in the seventh; nor was there found any Oracle more antient among the Gentiles. And how this will answer chronologically with *Plutarch's* 3000 Years, will require Consideration; doubtless he went on another Chronology than we do, and we want him alive to make it out; but we may here note, that this Oracle of *Latona*, was about four hundred Years before *Moses* set up an Oracle by God's Appointment: For *Marshall* says, that the going out of the *Israelites* from *Egypt*, was in the ninth Age after the Flood, viz. in the 857th Year after it. As for the
ceasing

ceasing of the Oracles among the *Jews*, *David* received many Answers from the *Mercy-Seat*. But as *Sir John Marſham* tells us, at the beginning of the fourteenth Age, where he ſpeaks of *Solomon's* Temple, he was the laſt that received any Answer from the Lord. For tho' *Solomon* made an Oracle to place there the Ark of Covenant, and made in the Oracle two Cherubims, yet neither *Solomon*, nor any of his Succeſſors, nor of the High Priests, are read to have conſulted that Oracle, much leſs to have received any Answer from it. So that the Ark, from that time forward, may be ſaid as well to have been ſilent, as to have reſted, tho' the Rabbins, and thoſe that followed them, contended that this Oracle firſt ceaſ'd in the *Babylonian* Captivity. Again, as for the Oracle of *Urim* and *Thummim*, which was the moſt antient Oracle among the *Jews*, *Joſephus* tells us, that ceaſ'd two hundred Years before his Time; and we know the Prophets among the *Jews* ceaſ'd in *Malachi*, who was about 400 Years before Chriſt. Now, if the Oracle from the *Mercy-Seat* ceaſ'd about 1000 Years before Chriſt, and the Prophets among the *Jews* about 400 Years, and the Oracle of *Urim* and *Thummim* 200 Years before the time of *Joſephus*; I know not why the Fathers, and other Chriſtian Authors, ſhould make ſuch a ſtir about the ceaſing of the Oracles of the *Gentiles*, about the time of the Coming of Chriſt; for the Wonder ſeems to be, how they came to hold ſo long, they being grown into ſuch Contempt, that in all Probability they would have ceaſ'd, tho' Chriſtianity had not been eſtabliſhed; and many of them were ceaſ'd before Chriſt's Coming, as ſome of them ceaſ'd about his Time, and many of them held long after Chriſt. And we find that *Julian*, being urg'd by the Chriſtians concerning the ceaſing of the Oracles of the *Gentiles*, he answer'd, that the Spirit of Prophecy was ceaſ'd alſo among the *Jews*; and that the Chriſtians themſelves had no Oracles to conſult.

sult. To which, Cyril of *Alexandria* reply'd, *Tom.* 4. *L.* 6. *contr.* *Julian.* pag. 198, 199. That if the Spirit of Prophecy were ceas'd among the *Hebrews*, it was, that all the holy Prophets, who had received their Knowledge from the holy Spirit, proclaimed the Mystery of Christ; but after he was come, and appeared to Men, the Grace of antient Prophecy ceas'd: But that now God inspired the Saints with the Knowledge of future Things at his pleasure, and dwelt in their Souls. But here it may be said, that tho' the Prophets generally proclaimed the Mystery of Christ, yet the Oracles from the *Mercy-Seat*, and by *Urim* and *Thummim*, did not relate to the Mystery of Christ, nor can any Reason be assigned for the ceasing of the Oracles from the *Mercy-Seat*, but God's Pleasure, after he had establish'd *David*, a King according to his own Heart, on the Throne; the ceasing of the Oracle of *Urim* and *Thummim* being to be ascribed to the same cause.

Again, we find the Oracles, and all Divinations, were ridicul'd on the Stage, even before the Times of *Malachi*, in whom Prophecies ceas'd among the *Jews*; for *Euripides*, who was before him, in his *Helena*, *Act.* 2. *v.* 359. brings an old Man on the Stage, who says thus:

*But now it's plain, before our Eyes,
Prophets are vain, and full of Lyes.
In Flame divine of sacred Fire,
There's nothing sound, nor to admire
In Chant of Birds; nay, Madness 'twere
To think Birds help in Mens Affair.*

And beneath,

*Perhaps you'll say, God won't have this
Thing known; why then mind Prophecies?
With Sacrifice we must appease
The Gods, and Bounties ask of these;*

*Not heeding Prophecies, those vain
Amusements of the Life of Man.
No Slug grows rich by prophetizing,
A sound Mind with a good advising,
A Prophet is.*

And the Chorus adds,

*I'm of the same Mind with the old Man
Concerning Prophets ; he that can
Get Heaven's Favour, has the best
Of Divinations in his Breast.*

To say somewhat of the Oracle of *Delphos*, Father *l'Esprit*, Provincial of the *Capucins* for the Province of *Normandy*, published a Book in *French*, Anno 1652. in *Quarto*, in which he gave an account of a Possession of the *Nuns* at *Louviers*, near *Rouën* ; where, after having observed that some of the Devils possessing the *Nuns*, were learned, and others not, he tells us, *pag.* 285. that he asked one Devil, possessing a *Nun*, his Name ; who answer'd, his Name was *Delphon*, and that this Name was composed of several Languages ; *De*, being *Latin*, *el*, *Hebrew*, and *phon*, *Greek* : So that the word *Delphon* signified the Light of God ; and to this Name, *says he*, the glorious Gift of Agility answers. Hereupon Father *l'Esprit* interrupting him, said, it ought rather to be the Gift of Brightness. The Devil reply'd, Go you Dog, it's by Motion and Agility that the Sun communicates its Brightness to the whole Hemisphere ; and so *Delphon* does by his Agility, going every where to make himself honoured and revered. So far Father *l'Esprit*.

Now it's known, that the Oracle of *Delphos* was the most celebrated Oracle throughout the World among the *Gentiles* ; and if this Etymology will bear, there could not be a more splendid Title given an Oracle, than to call it the Light of God.

Sir John Marſham, in his eleventh Age after the Flood, ſpeaking of the Kings of the *Argives*, tells us, That the Times of *Acrifius*, a King there, Grandſon to *Danaus*, were celebrated by the Inſtitution of the *Delphick Oracle*: *Phœmonoe*, who was the firſt Prieſteſs there, ſinging Answers to him in Heroick Verſe, twenty-ſeven Years before *Orpheus*, *Muſæus*, and *Linus* Maſter of *Hercules* were in being, who all flouriſhed in this Age. That *Phœmonoe* was of great Fame, ſhe being the firſt Interpreter of the God *Apollo*, and the firſt that ſang Oracles in *Hexameters*, ſhe having invented that Verſe.

I know Men are of various Opinions concerning what is underſtood by the Name of *Tripod*, on which the *Pythia* is ſaid to have ſat when ſhe delivered her Oracles, and I have Notes by me drawn from many Authors, in order to have cleared this Matter : but I find the Accounts are ſo contradictory concerning it, that it is not to be done ſatisfactorily, and we are left only to Conjecture ; nor do I wonder at it, ſince the *Jews*, from whom other things might have been expected, have not preſerved us a Tradition to be rely'd on concerning the *Urim* and *Thummim*, what they were ; Authors in their Accounts of them agreeing like Clocks, *Aben Ezra*, and others of the *Rabbins* plainly ſaying they knew not what they were. The learned *Peireskius* thought there was ſome great Myſtery contained in the *Tripod*, and was very ſollicitous in conſulting learned Men concerning it ; but we have no account of any ſatisſactory Answers he could get in it. If a *Tripod* had been uſed in all the Temples of the Oracles, ſomewhat more than ordinary might have been imagined in it ; but being uſed only in a Temple or two, it may leſſen our thoughts that way : And according to all Accounts, Oracles were long given at *Delphos* before *Tripods* were in uſe ; for upon the firſt diſcovery of that Oracle, all Perſons that came to the Mouth of the Cave there, and re-

ceived the prophetick Breath, were seiz'd with the Spirit of Divination. And whereas the Temple of *Delphos* was five times built, as *Pausanias* tells us, *L. 10.* the last of which Temples was standing in his Time, we find, that under the third Temple, which he says was made of Brass (the first being only of Laurels, and the second of as poor Materials) no *Tripod* was used; of which Temple, *Licetus*, in his Book entitled, *Antiqua Schemata Gemmarum Annularium*, p. 185. has given us a fine Cut; where the Brass Temple stands on a Rock, having a large Laurel Branch issuing from the top of its Roof, and spreading itself obliquely over the Entrance, the *Pythia* standing in view within the Entrance of the Temple, no *Tripod* appearing, and giving an answer to one who comes to consult the Oracle; her Body being naked from the Navel upwards, and she having a loose Garment, which hangs on her right Shoulder, and covers also the lower Parts of her Body to her Feet; which Garment she holds together with her right Hand, and has a Harp in her left. This Temple is built in a round Form, with Pillars, and has a wrought Roof in the form of a Dome or Cupula. And tho' *Licetus* does not say it was made of Brass, yet the Cut could not be taken from any other; the Make of it, and its Antiquity, as being before the use of *Tripods*, being considered: which *Tripod*, with all its Circumstances, seems to me to have added little or nothing to the divinatory Faculty; but was introduced partly for the conveniency of the *Pythia*, that the Breath immediately received from the Mouth of the Cave might not offend her; partly as a Type of the three Successions of Time, all known to *Apollo*, and partly as a theatrical Amusement for the People; as we know, in a few Centuries after Christ, such Amusements were introduced into the Christian Church, which in some sort seem a Revival of Judaism.

As to the Form of the *Tripod*, it was a Machine consisting of four Parts, as *Martinius* describes it in his *Lexicon*. First, Of a Frame with three Feet, whence it was called a *Tripod*. Secondly, Of a Crater, that is, a Bason or Bowl set in that Frame. Thirdly, of a Plate or Table of Gold, or gilt, which covered the Bason on which the *Pythia* sat to deliver the Oracles. And this Table covering the Bason, was the Table of the Sun, or *Apollo*, on which he inspired the Prophetess: Such a golden Table also dedicated to the Sun, being placed on a rich Bed in a Chappel, on the top of the Temple of *Jupiter Belus* at *Babylon*, where a Woman attended it; which Temple was 900 Foot high, as *Herodotus* tells us: and the Table at *Delphos* was called *Holmus*, whence also *Apollo* was stiled *Enholmus*, and the Prophetesses *Enholmides*. Fourthly, There was a Brass hollow Covering over this Table, within which the *Pythia* fate, and whence her resonant Voice came: which Covering was called *Cortina*, and hence *Apollo* was stiled *Cortinipotens*. And conformably to this, *Gifanius* on *Lucretius*, p. 399. writes, The brasen Cover of the *Tripod* was the *Cortina*, the *Tripod* was a very great golden Vessel; this had a golden Plate or Table laid over it, on which the *Pythia* fate when she gave Oracles. They called that Plate *Holmus*, as *Julius Pollux* says, L. 10.


The Author of the *Delphi Phœnicizantes* seems to agree with this Description of the *Tripod* in all things but the *Cortina*: He says, that those of *Delphos*, to conform themselves in all things with the way of the *Hebrews*, and to set up an Oracle at *Delphos*, like to that at *Silo*, made there the like Machines, viz. a *Cortina*, to the likeness of the *Tabernacle*; a *Tripod*, to the likeness of the *Ark of Testimony*; and an *Holmus*, to the likeness of the *Mercy-Seat*; on which *Holmus* the *Pythia* fate, or stood, when she gave Oracles, as there were two Cherubims on the *Mercy-Seat*. But I cannot allow the *Cortina* to have been an Edifice

raised to cover the *Tripod*, as he supposes, and no Author else, as far as I know ; but rather that it was such a Cover to the *Tripod* and *Holmus*, as I have mentioned : tho' I conceive such a Covering as I have described before to the brass Temple, from *Licetus*, may not unaptly be called a *Cortina*, it being in the Form of a Dome, or Hemisphere.

Now, of all the Cuts of *Tripods* I have seen in many Authors, that given us by *Belle-forest*, in his *Cosmography*, tom. 2. p. 140. where he gives an account of an *Achaia*, seems, as I conceive, to come nearest the true one ; it being compleatly mounted, and looking more like a *Tripod* of use, than such as are commonly seen in Authors, which are only the Cuts of little votive *Tripods*, never intended for use : and this Cut of *Belle-forest*, which I here also give you, was taken, as he says, from a *Tripod* found in the Ruins of *Delphos*, tho' he does not tell us from what Hands he had it ; and its *Cortina* is in the form of a Tent, as the Author of the *Delphi Phœnicizantes* conceives the true one was. Indeed no *Bason* appears in this Cut ; but the three large Thighs appearing in it, supposing both the Legs and Thighs of this *Tripod* to have been of Brass, and hollow, as they seem to have been, might very well have supply'd the Place of a *Bason*, if the use of it, as it's conceived, were chiefly for its ringing, and sonorous Quality ; or those three large Thighs may not improperly be look'd upon as three *Craters*, or *Basons*, answering to three Feet of the *Tripod* : and as for the three interwoven triangular Figures which are seen in the middle of the *Cortina* of that *Tripod*, I conceive, that as the *Pythagoreans* called the *Tripod*, *Triops*, with regard to the sight *Apollo* has of the Times present, past, and to come ; so those three Figures were to denote three Eyes, with regard to that three-fold Sight, as the three Feet of the *Tripod* are said to have denoted the same. If any Man can
offer



This TRIPOD was found in the Ruins of Delphos.

 N.B. The Binder is to place this Cut to face p. 145.

offer a more probable Conjecture concerning those three Figures, I should be glad to see it.

Mr. *Schottus*, Antiquary to the King of *Prussia*, published a Book in *French*, Anno 1714, with this Title; *A new Explication of the Apotheosis of Homer, represented on an ancient Marble, and concerning the Use of the Tripod at Delphos, and of the Employ of the Engastrimuthi.* Now, as for the Explication of the *Apotheosis of Homer*, represented on the Marble, it seems to me he has given a considerable Light to it more than what was given before, by *Kercher*, *Cuper*, *Heinsius*, *Gronovius*, and *Westein*, all Men of great Name, whose Explications he has set forth in his Book; and on the occasion of the Figure of a *Cortina*, as he conceives, in the Marble, he comes to treat of the *Cortina*, and the other Parts of the *Tripod*, and its Use, with whom I cannot agree in many respects. He conceives the *Cortina* and *Bason* were two Hemispheres made exactly to fit each other, so that both join'd made a Sphere, and he has given us several Cuts of *Tripods* with those two Hemispheres so join'd: but I conceive those *Basons* and *Cortina*, so join'd, were only in little votive *Tripods*, and not in *Tripods* of use, tho' these also were sometimes votive, or given to the Temple, as that of *Belle-forest* seems to have been, they not being so convenient for the *Pythia* to sit on, as a *Cortina* in the form of a Tent, unless the *Cortina*, made in the form of an Hemisphere, were very large: and indeed we want the true Dimensions of the *Basons* and *Cortina* in use, as to their Depth and Diameter, which I have not met with in any Author. Again, Mr. *Schottus* makes the *Cortina* and *Holmus*, or golden Plate which covered the *Bason* on which the *Pythia* sat, to be the same thing, which confounds the whole Description of the *Tripod*; and whereas he makes the *Pythia* to sit on the *Cortina*, this could not be, if the *Cortina* were in the form of a Tent, nor can I conceive how it should well be, if it were in the form of an Hemisphere.

Beside,

Beside, her sitting on it would hinder its Sound, concerning which Sound I shall speak beneath; whereas if she sat on the Gold Plate, the Sound both of the *Bason* and *Cortina* would be free, especially if the Plate, tho' it covered the *Bason*, rested on the Frame of the *Tripod*, which probably it might. In the Cuts of *Tripods*, given by *Du Choul*, we find a single Crow, a Bird for Divination, standing on the Gold Plate, or *Holmus* of one of them; and two Crows with a Garland of Laurels, which the *Pythia* used to put on her Head when she gave Oracles, plac'd betwixt them, standing on the *Holmus* of another of them: which makes it probable that the *Pythia* also sat there, no Crow having been seen plac'd on the *Cortina*, nor any Seat ever seen there for the Prophetess to sit on. And the learned *Spanheim*, in his Notes on *Callimachus*, vol. 2. p. 388. has given us a Cut of a *Tripod*, with an Altar, or little Table plac'd over the *Bason*, which could not stand there, unless a Plate covered the *Bason*, to support it; and he has another Cut there, with a Garland of Laurels on the Middle of the said Plate.

All Accounts agree that a great Noise was made in the *Tripod*, when the Oracles were given. So *Virgil*, where he speaks of *Æneas* consulting the Oracle at *Delos*;

———*Tremere omnia visa repente,
Liminaque, Laurusque Dei, totusque moveri
Mons circum, & mugire adytis Cortina reclusis.*

So *Ovid*, *Met.* 15. v. 135, concerning the Oracle at *Delphos*:

*Et locus, & laurus, & quas habet illa Pharetræ
Intremuere simul, Cortinaque reddidit imo
Hanc adyto vocem, pavescitque pectora movit.*

So Seneca, in *Œd. Act. 2.* where Creon speaks,

*Gemina Parnassi nivalis Arx truce Sonitum dedit,
Imminens Phœbæa laurus tremuit & movit domum.
Incipit lethæa vates spargere horrentes comas,
Et pati commota Phœbum. Contigit nondum specum,
Emicat vasto fragore major humano sonus.*

So Nennus, where he makes mention of the Oracle given to Cadmus, says, the *Tripod* was a circular Body giving a Sound of it self; and that it seems likely, when the terrible Sound of the *Tripod* began to cease, the *Pythonissæ* were put into a Fury, as in the *Orgia* of *Bacchus*, the ringing of the Cymbals put the *Bacchants* and Tygers into a Fury: And I am inclined to think, that beside that great Noise, there was a ringing of Brass used in the Divinations at *Delphos*, the *Lebetes* here being of the same kind with the Basons of *Dodona*; and as Dr. Spon says, in his *Dissertation de Tripode*, he conceives that some Persons attending the Oracle, used to strike with Rods on the *Tripod*, as on a Musical Instrument, making it to yield more obtuse or acute Sounds, and sometimes fitting their Voices to it, observing a certain Harmony; so that these, with the loud Noise, might join in Harmony as a Treble and Base: And *Pindarus* tells us, there were beautiful Virgins who used to sing from the upper Part of the Brasen Temple at *Delphos*, when Oracles were given; which Temple *Pausanias* tells us was swallowed up by an Earthquake, and melted by the Fire; and which Singing we may judge supplied the Place of the noisy Musick there, after the *Tripod* came in Use.

Before I speak farther of the great Noise which was caused in the *Tripod*, I shall first give you the following Account of the *Tripod* which was in the Custody of the Learned *Peireskius*. In the Year 1629,

as Dr. *Spon* says, or as *Gassendus* says, 1630; a Brass *Tripod* was found in the *Forum Julii*, on the Coast of the Sea of *Liguria*, and was carried to *Peireskius*, whose Life is written by *Gassendus*, in which he describes it, as Dr. *Spon* also does in his *Miscel. Erud. Antiq.* where he has also given us a Cut of it: But they seem to me both so obscure in their Descriptions, that I cannot get any clear Notion of it from them, which I should suspect to proceed from the Tardiness of my Apprehension, unless the learned *Spanheim*, in his Notes on *Callimachus*, Tom. 2. p. 390. had observed, that *Gassendus* is short and perplex'd in his Description of it. And as for Dr. *Spon*, he leaves the thing obscure in several respects: For first, he does not give us the Dimensions of that *Tripod*, but says, it may properly be called a *Delphick* or *Pythian Tripod*, and seems to be made according to the Proportion and Likeness of the true *Delphick Tripod*; whereas *Gassendus* tells us, it was little more than a Foot high, and was look'd upon as a Votive *Tripod*, such as were hung up in the Temples, so that it could not have been a *Tripod* of Use, as the Doctor seems to have fancied it, according to the large Figure he has given us of it, p. 118. where he describes it thus: It is composed of five Parts, of which the lower-most is as the *Basis*, on which three others stands, as Legs, or Pillars, supporting the fifth, which is in the Form of a Bowl or *Bason*, the whole made of Yellow Brass, and well wrought. He calls the *Basis* on which the three Feet stood, *Hypocrateridion*; a Term used also by *Plutarch* in his Tract of the *Ceasing of Oracles*, and signifies a Cratercula, or little *Bason*, and is of a Triangular Figure, made after the Form of that triangular *Delphick Machine*, which served as a Cover to the Mouth of the Cave whence the Prophetick Breath issued; and had a triangular Hole in the mid'st of it, over which the *Pythia* sat when she gave Oracles. This *Bason* also had three short Feet under
it,

it, to support it; whence he says it was called a *Tripod*, tho' I think it much more reasonable that Machine should have been called so from the three large Feet standing on the *Basis*. *Gassendus* adds to this Description, that the *Cortina* was not that under *Bason*, for the *Pythia* does not get on that, but another Hemisphere with a sort of a scaly Surface, resembling the Skin of the Serpent slain by *Apollo*, with which the Hole before-mentioned was covered; so that the *Pythia* had the *Cortina* under her, and the other *Bason* hanging over her.

Now I must confess I am here wholly at a loss; for first, *Dr. Spon* does not here mention any *Cortina*, or give us any Sketch of it in his Figure, which nevertheless all Accounts tell us was used in the *Tripod* when Oracles were given. Secondly, Whereas all Accounts tell us that the *Tripod* was high raised, and the *Pythia* ascended to it; he makes her to sit in a three-square *Bason* at the Foot of it, which no other Account mentions. As for *Gassendus*, he mentions a *Cortina*, but tells us, no more than *Dr. Spon*, whether there were any *Cortina* belonging to *Peireskius's Tripod*; and only says the *Pythia* had it under her, and that it cover'd the Triangular Hole: and if so, it must have hindred the Prophetick Breath from ascending to the *Pythia*, no Account telling us that *Cortina* was perforated. *Mr. Scottus* also says, the *Tripod* being placed over the *Orifice* of the Cave of *Apollo*, whence the Prophetick Breath issued, the *Pythia* seated herself on the *Cortina* of the *Tripod*, whence she gave Oracles, as he says *Dr. Spon* also did, since he confounded the *Cortina* with the *Bason*; but I say *Mr. Schottus* takes no notice here as he ought, that *Dr. Spon* makes two *Basons* in his *Tripod*, and mentions no *Cortina* to cover either of them: and this I conceive must be, because he found no *Cortina* in *Peireskius's Tripod*, and yet would suppose it perfect,

U

which

which it was not, for want both of an *Holmus* and *Cortina*; *Non Tripodas Cortina tegit.*

Mr. *Schottus* proceeds farther to tell us that the *Tripod* was not designed only as a Seat, it was for a more important Use; it served for the Mouth of *Apollo* himself, who answered those that came to consult him, and not the *Pythia*. As for the Mouth of *Apollo*, he says the *Bason* and *Cortina* being made of a very sonorous Metal, and being form'd as two Hemispheres, which when joined together made a spherical Body; it is easy to conceive that the subterraneous Wind which entered with Vehemency into the round Concave by a Hole in the bottom of the *Bason* which he calls a Navel, excited there a loud rumbling Noise, which may be called the Voice of *Apollo*. He conceives also that the *Pythia* on the *Cortina* had a care at the same time so to modify the rumbling Noise in the Cavity of the *Tripod*, as to make it some way resemble the Words they would have *Apollo* pronounce. He also enquires into the Nature of the *Engastrimuthi* of the Ancients, and says all agree they were Persons who took on them to predict Things to come, but that all Men do not agree concerning the Persons that use this Profession, nor the way by which they practise it; most believe they were Persons who had the Faculty of speaking from their Belly, or of forming Words which seem'd to proceed from the Belly, or some other remote part; and he refers us for Instances to *Brodaus* and the *Delphi Phœnicizantes*, &c. tho' he owns this Idea does not agree with the Reflections which some of the Ancients have made concerning them. He observes, that *Hermolaus Barbarus* and *John Gerrard Vossius* thought the *Engastrimuthi* were Persons who made use of certain Vessels of Glass or of other Matter called *Gastra*, or Vessels with Bellies, by which they predicted; and he proves by Authorities, that the inside of the *Tripod* was called a Belly, and that from

this Belly issued the confused Voice which passed for the Voice of *Apollo*; and he thinks we may hence conclude, that the *Engastrimutha*, or *Pythia*, was a Person who repeated or explained more distinctly what had been said from the Belly of the *Tripod* after a more confused and less intelligible manner.

Now, as for these farther Particulars of Mr. *Schottus*; Whereas he says the *Tripod* was the Mouth of *Apollo*, who gave Answers himself, and not the *Pythia*, and that she only explained the Words obscurely delivered by *Apollo* through the *Tripod*; this is contrary to what *Plutarch*, and most of the other best Authors have writ, and the Priests attending the Oracle might easily have contrived that great rumbling Noise in the *Tripod*, for amusing the People, without making it the Voice of *Apollo* to deliver obscure Words to be explained by the *Pythia*; and so making her as an Attendant on a *Puppet-Show*, to explain what the *Puppets* say. And if *Apollo* himself spake, I would ask why could not the Priests take the Words from his Mouth as well as the *Pythia*, so that she would be useless, unless the Words became more Authentick by coming from the Mouth of an old Woman than from *Apollo*; and I wish he had told us whether he thought that which he calls the Voice or obscure Words of *Apollo*, really proceeded from a *Pythonick* Spirit, or only by contrivance from the Priests attending the Oracle, for I find him generally inclin'd to Dr. *Van Dale's* Opinion, viz. that all Things relating to the Oracle were carried on by their Imposture. And if it be his Opinion there was no such Thing as a *Pythonick* Spirit, I wish he would read the Answer Father *Baltus* has writ to Mr. *Fontenelle's* Book of Oracles, which is an Abridgment of Dr. *Van Dale*; and he will find that Answer has silenced him: So that no Reply has been made, and I believe Mr. *Scottus* may find it will not bear a fair Reply, and I have given an Abstract of that Answer

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beneath. Whereas Mr. Schottus quotes *Hermolaus Barbarus* from *Leo Allatius*, saying that the *Engastrimuthi* were Persons that made use of certain Vessels of Glass, or of other matter called *Gastra* or Vessels with Bellies, by which they predicted; to have dealt ingenuously, he should have given us the whole Passage of *Leo Allatius*, which is thus in his *Syntagma de Engastrimutho*, pag. 422. *Hermolaus Barbarus* writes, he thinks that those who in Divinations use Basons are called by the *Greeks Engastrimantes*, which word does not much differ from *Engastrimuthus*, because *Gaster* is a kind of Vessel whose Form is variously understood: but whoever knows the various Kinds of Divinations, will readily confess that *Hermolaus Barbarus*, with others, are deceived in a plain Fact; for the Divination which is made by the Instigation of the Devil in a human Body, and those which are made in Vessels, as in Glass Vials full of Water, or in a Bason, or a Chest, or other Things, the Devil suggesting certain Figures and Images, mightily differ, and are of a very differing nature; wherefore they are not to be confounded. *Brodaus* found out the Error of these Men, who *Lib. 9. C. 19.* writes, that those are deceived who say the *Engastrimantes* use Basons, and a certain Vessel which is called *Gaster*. *Psellus*, *Nicetus*, *Cedrenus*, *Curopolates*, *Glycas*, and the *Pseudo-Antisthenes* in the Life of *Alexander the Great*, give us Instances of Divinations by a Bason, Vials, and other Vessels. So that *Leo Allatius*, *Brodaus*, and many others are clearly against the Opinion of *Hermolaus Barbarus* and Mr. Schottus, unless they will enlarge the Signification of the Word *Engastrimuthus*, and make it the same with *Pythomantes*, which signifies any one who predicts any way future Things by the help of the Devil; and Dr. *Van Dale* in his Book *De Divinationibus Idololatricis*, c. 9. shews that the *Pythia*, in giving Answers, was not withal an *Engastrimitha*, for these generally deliver'd their Words
with

in the Temples of the GENTILES. 149
with an obscure Muttering, and the *Pythia* with a Voice more than human.

I somewhat wonder that none of the Fathers have given us a particular Account of the Noise made in the *Tripod*, and other Particulars of the Oracle at *Delphos* and elsewhere ; since *Eusebius*, *de Præf. Evang.* l. 4. c. 1. writes thus : Many of the Prophets and Soothsayers, not only of the Antients, but even of our Time, being forc'd by Torments, have declared that the whole Affair of the Oracles was carried on by their Inventions ; from whom also we know the Ways and Artifices used by them have been exquisitely laid open ; and they, as Seducers and ill Men, have been put to death, according to the Laws : Which things are so clear, that they are known to all Men. For not only some of the Vulgar, but others of the Better Sort, and even Philosophers, who valued themselves on the account of their Gown and Learning, own'd it : Whence some one perhaps will not stick to say, that neither Gods nor Devils set up these Oracles, if they were the Inventions of seducing and wicked Men for filthy Lucre. Which Opinion, we know, pleased many of the *Greeks*, and mostly the most celebrated Philosophers ; for the *Peripateticks*, *Cynicks*, and *Epicureans* think so, whom I greatly admire, for that being born and educated in most corrupt Manners, and taught by their Parents to reverence their Gods and Oracles, they could of themselves emerge from those Errors, so that they dared also to write that the Oracles were not only false, but likewise useless and detrimental to many. The said *Eusebius*, in his second Chapter adds this : Tho the Vanity of the Oracles may be shewn many ways, yet I have resolv'd not to answer after this way, *viz.* that the Oracles were set up wholly by the subtle Inventions of Men ; but as I have begun, not denying them to be from some Power, because the Refutation of this Point does not a little conduce

to

to the Gospel. For if it shall be shown, that both *Greeks* and *Barbarians* were ignorant of the true God before the coming of Christ, and were led away as blind Men, by seducing Dæmons; the Mystery of the Evangelical Dispensation, whereby we are freed from that Seducing and Oppression, cannot but be much admired. So far *Eusebius*. Where two things ought to be noted: First, That the Christians in his time forced the Priests attending the Oracles openly to declare all the Artifices used by them in carrying them on, so that they might have conveyed them to Posterity. Secondly, That notwithstanding all the Artifices used, the antient Christians held the *Pythiæ* were possess'd with a *Pythionick* Spirit.

As *Peireskius* was much amused concerning the *Tripod*, and spared no pains in consulting learned Persons concerning the Mysteries which he conceived lay in it; so I think when we consider the various Relations we have concerning many other things relating to the *Delphick* Oracle, they may no less deserve our Consideration: Some say it was a Tyrant, some a Robber, some a Serpent, and some a Gyant that was overcome and slain by *Apollo*, and gave an occasion for the Institution of the *Pythian Games*: And as for the Place of this Victory, some tell us the *Pytho* was slain in *Mysia*, some in *Phrygia*, some in *Cilicia*, some in *Pythecusa*, some in *Bæotia*, and some in *Syria*. And as for *Apollo* himself, whom they feign to be the Father of the Day and of Light, he is as hard to be found; whom some affirm to be the Son of *Jupiter*, others of *Bacchus*, some mythically make him a God, some interpret him to be the Sun, others say he was a military Commander, so that the *Pythian Apollo* must be consulted concerning himself. The ingenious Author of the *Delphi Phœnicizantes* has a particular Opinion concerning this matter: He tells us, that in a manner all things which are related concerning *Apollo*, and the *Pytho*, chiefly regard *Jeshuah* the Leader of the *Israelites*, and *Og* the
King

King of *Basan*; and that whatever was most celebrated among the *Delphians*, whether it regarded the *Pæanick Games*, or the Temple itself, the Oracle, the *Tripod*, or the other things, were formerly taken from the *Hebrews*.

Now, as I have before allow'd, that there is a good Agreement betwixt the *Tripod* and the Ark of Testimony, and betwixt the *Holmus* and the *Mercy-Seat*, which this Author contends for; and unless I had seen the Cut of the large *Cortina*, covering the *Tripod* in the form of a Tent, in *Belle-forest*, as mentioned before, I might have been inclin'd to think the Edifice he mention'd rais'd over the *Tripod*, might have served for the *Cortina*: yet, as to what he says, that what is related of *Apollo* and *Pytho*, was originally meant of *Joshua* and *Og*, I cannot agree with him.

To give my own Sense of these Matters, when I consider, that the Priests attending the Oracles were acquainted in the whole Mystery of *Gentilism* relating to religious Practices, and perfectly knowing in their Initiations and the Methods used in them; I must conclude, that the Affair of the Oracle related to those Initiations, for bringing Men to a regenerate State, which is the highest Perfection the Mind of Man can be brought to in this Life: and that by *Apollo*, they meant the holy Spirit attending that State, by whom all things are revealed to us; and tho' the *Gentiles* had not a right Foundation of Faith to proceed upon, yet, according to the Knowledge they had of God, in which they came little short of Christians, they had ways of bringing the Mind to a Purity and Conformity with him, and so disposing it for a revealed State, in which Oracles are given: And as Divines tell us, that Prophecy is a Gift *gratīs datum, non gratum faciens*, it does not seem strange if God sometimes let the *Gentiles* partake of it, tho' they often abused it, either voluntarily, or for want

want of knowing, in some Particulars, what God might require of them, being misled by evil Spirits. *Plutarch*, who was a Priest of *Apollo*, and a Native of *Bæotia*, where the Oracle was, and, as it may be presum'd, as critically knowing in all things relating to it, as any Man, in his Tract of *The Cessation of Oracles*, introduces, among others, one *Cleombrotus*, who came from the Oracle, and, on an occasion given, makes the following Relation. The Tent of Boughs, which is erected every ninth Year in the *Area* of the Temple, is not the Representation of the retiring Place, or dark-shaded Lurking-Hole of a Dragon; but rather of the House or Habitation of some Tyrant, or King, and the Assault is given him by a silent Surprize, at the Gate called *Dolonia*, that is, the Spy Gate; the young Lad, who a little after is brought there, having a Father and Mother; the Tent set on fire, by casting burning Torches at it, the Table over-turn'd; and then those that have done it flying through the Gates of the Temple, without looking back; and, lastly, the Flight of the Lad to many Places, and his being brought to Bondage; and, after all, the Expiations and Ceremonies that are used in the Valley of *Tempe*, make me suspect that this represents some notable Exploit and bold Enterprize which has formerly happen'd: for it's a Jest to say, that *Apollo*, for having killed the Dragon, was forced to fly to the remotest Parts of *Greece*, to be set right again, and purify'd; and that there he made some Offerings and Effusions, as Men do when they will appease the Anger and Indignation of those *Dæmons* we call *Alastores* and *Palumnei*: that is to say, Pursuers of Punishment and Vengeance for such enormous Crimes, the Memory of which lasts for ever, or of some very ancient Offences. It's true, the Discourse I have sometime heard related concerning this Flight, and Absenting, is very strange and wonderful; but if it contains somewhat of

Truth,

Truth, we must not think it a small and vulgar thing which was then transacted at the Place of the Oracle. So far *Cleombrotus*, who relates this Story, by the by, as he had heard it, tho' he afterwards declares it his Opinion, that *Dæmons* presided in the Oracles.

Now, as for the foregoing Story, I shall give you my Sense of it in short; *viz.* I look on the Serpent, or *Python*, which is said to be overcome and slain by *Apollo*, to be the animal or old Man subdued and slain by the Holy Spirit, which attends a regenerate State. This is that *Python* of which *Virgil* speaks in his 4 *Ecl.*

*Occidet & Serpens, & fallax Herba Veneni
Occidet, Assyrium vulgo nascetur amomum.*

And a little beneath,

Pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus Orbem.

As for applying all the Particulars before set down, according to this Interpretation, I leave it to Men acquainted in the Work of Regeneration. As for others, perhaps such Applications might seem tedious to them, or be received with contempt.

The said *Plutarch*, in his Treatise concerning the word *Ei*, which is engraved on the Gate of *Apollo's* Temple at *Delphos*, tells us of many other things which deserved to be considered there; *viz.* Why they never burn there but the Wood of the Fir-Tree, to keep in the eternal Fire? Why no Perfume is there made but of the Laurel-Tree? Why in that Temple there are the Pictures only of two Destinies, and not of three, as there are every where else? Why it is not permitted any Woman to approach the Oracle? And such other Matters, which incite and draw all Men of Thought to ask, desire, hear, and discourse of the Meaning of these Things. To shew

the Truth of this, he bids us only consider how many Questions have been rais'd, and learned Discourses made concerning these two little Sentences there found, *Know yourself*, and *Nothing too much*; and he says the word *Ei* is no less fertile for occasioning such fine Discourses. And in the conclusion of this Tract, he says the word *Ei* is in some sort contrary to that Precept, *Know yourself*, and in something agreeing with it: for the former is a Word of Adoration and Admiration of God, as he is Eternal and always in Being; and the latter is a Notifying and Memorial to mortal Man of the Weakness and Inability of his Nature. And we find that *Cicero*, in his *Tusculan Questions*, L. 5. gives a fine Explication of this Precept, *Know yourself*; where he says, As we consider the admirable Order of the World, and revolve it day and night in our Minds, we arrive at the Science enjoin'd at *Delphos*, viz. That the Mind of Man having deposed all Vice, know itself, and have a Sense of its being united with the Divine Mind, by which it's fill'd with an insatiable Joy. I must confess, I know no higher Expression, or more feeling Resentment of a Deity can be uttered by a regenerate Christian. And it seems no wonder, that *Plutarch*, who was the most learned of all the *Gentiles* since Christianity, having so great an Esteem, as he expresses, for the Founders of the Oracle of *Delphos*, and for their Precepts and Institutions, and perhaps not having conversed with the learned Christians, still continued a *Gentile*.

I may here note, That the two short Precepts, *Know yourself*, and *Nothing too much*, are said to have been first introduced by *Thales* and *Chilo*, two of the wise Men of *Greece*; for *Thales* being ask'd, What he thought the most difficult thing in Nature? answer'd, The Knowledge of a Man's self. And *Chilo* had often this Saying in his Mouth, Desire nothing too much: But the *Amphictyons*, who were the Deputies
for

for the general Council of *Greece*, are said to have caused those two short Sentences, and this other, *he that answers pays*, to be writ on the Gates of the *Pythian Apollo*; as *Plutarch* tells us in his Discourse concerning *speaking too much*.

Plutarch also, in the Consolation he sent to *Apollo-nius* on the Death of his Son, writes thus: There are two Precepts writ in the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, very necessary for Human Life; the one is, *Know yourself*; the other, *Nothing too much*: for on these two Precepts all the others depend. And these two are consonant and agree together, explaining each other as much as possible; for in *know yourself*, *nothing too much* is contained; and in *nothing too much*, *know yourself* is comprized: and therefore the Poet *Ion*, speaking of these two Precepts, says thus:

*Know yourself, is easily said,
But not so easy to be done;
For none among the Gods above
This understands, but Jove alone.*

And *Pindarus* says, the Wise greatly admire this Saying, *Nothing in excess*.

He therefore who shall always have such a Reverence for these two Precepts, as ought to be shown the Oracle of *Apollo*, will easily apply them to all the Affairs of Human Life, and know how to carry himself dextrously and modestly, having regard to Human Nature; and not be puffed up with Vain-Glory for any thing that might happen, nor be too much dejected, desolate, and afflicted thro' a Weakness of Mind, adverse Fortune, or the fear of Death, which make an Impression on our Hearts for want of well knowing and considering what usually happens in the Life of Man, through Necessity and the Disposition of Fate. So *Euripides*,

*Who yields to what he can't avoid,
Shews he has a right Sense of God,
And is by Men accounted wise.*

And so the Poet *Epicharmus* wisely says,

*A Man is made, and then unmade,
All things return to what they were :
The Soul to Heaven, and Earth to Earth,
What Harm in this ? does Nature err ?*

So far *Plutarch*.

There is a Fable concerning *Delphos*, which may be worth noting : They say that *Jupiter*, having a mind to find the Middle of the Earth, let fly two Eagles, of equal Swiftneſs in their Flight ; ſome ſay they were Crows, ſome Swans, and perhaps they were black ones, one from the Eaſt, the other from the Weſt, which both met at *Delphos* ; whence *Delphos* is called the Middle of the Earth, and the Navel of the World. And in the Temple there, a Navel of white Marble was ſhown in memory of this Faſt, and two Golden Eagles were there placed near the *Tripod* : but many other Places alſo being called the Navel of the Earth, I ſhall here give you ſome Notes which I drew together, many Years ſince, concerning it.

Grotius tells us, That, in the Scripture, *Judea* is called by the name of the Universe, and it's in this Senſe we muſt underſtand that ancient Expreſſion of the *Jews*, when they ſay *Jeruſalem* was ſeated in the middle of the Earth ; that is to ſay, in the miſt of *Judea* : as *Delphos*, which was in the middle of *Greece*, was called the Navel of the World by the *Greeks*.

The *Muſſelmen* tell us, That, in the place where *Mecha* was built, there was always, from the Beginning

ning of the World, a little Hill made up of red Sand, where all the *Arabians* came in Flocks to offer their Prayers for obtaining the Graces they hoped for from Heaven; and this Place, from that time, was esteem'd the Middle of the habitable Earth.

Phurnutus tells us, that *Delphos* is called the Navel of the Earth; not that it's the Middle of the Earth, but *propter ὀμφην*; that is, by reason of a divine Voice, or Oracle there given.

R. Salomon Franco writes thus: *Jerusalem* is called the Navel of the Earth, in respect of its being placed between *Africa*, *Asia*, and *Europe*. The *Jews* call the Temple the Heart of the World; and as the Heart in a Man's Body inclines somewhat towards the left Side, so the Temple on the top of the Mountain was somewhat towards the South Side. The Temple is the Heart of the World, which communicates its Influence to all Parts of the Body; and the Temple, say the *Jews*, was the Place wherein the Lord manifested himself to his People, and wherein that Divinity was present which had a particular care over them.

Munster, in a *Dialogue* he has published between a *Christian* and a *Jew*, introduces the latter speaking more fully, thus: They shall build of the Wood of *Libanus*, the Sanctuary, which is placed answering to the Throne of Majesty. And as the Throne of Majesty is the Seat of God, consequently the Sanctuary is his Footstool: nay, and the Gate of Heaven is over the Sanctuary, and this is, as it were, the Navel of the World. And the Land of *Israel* is placed in the middle of the World, and *Jerusalem* is placed in the middle of the Land of *Israel*, and the Sanctuary in the middle of *Jerusalem*, and the Temple in the middle of the Sanctuary, and the Ark in the middle of the Temple; and the Temple of Sanctity is called the Throne of Majesty.

Dr. *Rauwolfe*, in the account of his Travels, writes, That the *Greeks* have at *Jerusalem* the Temple of Mount *Calvary*, the Place of Skulls whereon Christ was crucified, and also the beautiful Chancel that is in the middle of the Church; wherein is a round Hole, about a Span over, in a Stone which is, as they pretend, the middle of the Earth: according to the Words of *David*, when he says, *God who is my King, from the beginning, has framed us in the middle of the Earth.*

I may add here what is said, *Ezek. C. v. V. 5.* Thus says the Lord *Jehovah*, that is *Jerusalem*, I have placed it in the midst of the Nations, and the Earth round about it. And *Buxtorf*, in his *Lex. Chald. Thalm.* p. 2054. tells us, that the *Rabbinists* say the World is like to the Eye, whose White is represented by the Ocean, which surrounds the whole World, the Black is the World itself; the Apple that is in the Black, is *Jerusalem*; and the Image which is seen in the Apple, is the Sanctuary.

We know it has been a politick Practice for Princes to place their chief Seats in the Hearts of their Country, for an easy dispatch to all their Provinces, as occasions might require; and this holds as well in Spiritual Affairs, as in Temporal. As for those who would be more critically knowing how *Jerusalem* came to be called the Navel of the Earth, I refer them to the *Liber Cosmi*, published by *Buxtorf*, in Hebrew and Latin, at *Basil*, in the Year 1660. where, in his Notes, he has inserted what *Mr. Selden* has written on that Point.

It seems strange how the *Peruvians* should fall in with the Notion of these Parts of the World, in calling their chief Town *Cusco*, the Navel of the Earth, the word *Cusco* signifying a Navel: Concerning which, *Garcillisso de la Vega*, in his second Book, c. 11. of the *Incas*, writes thus: The Empire of the Kings, *Incas*, was by themselves divided into four Parts, which they

they call the four Parts of the World, conformably to the four Parts of the Heavens, *East, West, North, and South*. The Town of *Cusco* was the Point or Center of the said Empire, and it signifies, in the particular Language of the *Incas*, the Navel of the Earth; a Name not improperly given it, nor without a great Resemblance: for all *Peru* is long and narrow, as the Body of Man is, the Town of *Cusco* makes almost the middle of it.

If any Man will still be uneasy, till he finds some Satisfaction concerning the Navel, or Middle of the Earth, he may read the beginning of *Plutarch's* Tract concerning *The Cessation of the Oracles*, where he writes thus: *Epimenides* having heard the Story of the Flight of two Eagles, or Swans; and being desirous to know whether this Story were true, consulted the Oracle of *Apollo*, where the Middle, or Navel of the Earth was; who gave him an ambiguous and uncertain Answer, so that he could find no fix'd Sense: wherefore he composed these Verses,

*There is no Navel in the Sea,
Nor in the Earth; and if there be,
Presume not this to Man is known,
But to the Mind of God alone.*

Thus *Apollo* aptly chastised this curious Enquirer, who was for bringing an old Fable to the critical Test of Truth. So far *Plutarch*.

As for the Question, Whether evil Spirits were concerned in the Oracles delivered to the *Gentiles*, we know *Dr. Van Dale*, and *Mr. Fontenelle* maintain the Negative. But if they had read and duly considered *Vossius, de Idololatriâ*, Vol. I. L. 1. C. 6. possibly it might have sav'd them the labour of composing their Books of Oracles. I shall here give you an Abstract of what *Vossius* delivers in his fore-mention'd Book and Chapter.

That

That there are ministring Spirits both good and evil, which, by the Philosophers, are called by the common Name of *Dæmons*, by the *Peripateticks* Intelligences ; by *Christians*, good and bad Angels ; is a Doctrine which has pass'd by Tradition, for many Ages, and is confirmed by a fourfold Reason, *viz.* by Specters, Oracles, Magick Arts, and Prodigies.

The *Sadduces* did not acknowledge Spirits ; or if they did, they understood by them only Qualities produced by God in the Mind of him whom he would instruct in something ; or they thought God produc'd Spirits when he would employ them, and afterwards destroyed them ; and produc'd them, by separating somewhat from the Soul of the World, which afterwards returned into the general Nature.

Among the Philosophers of the *Gentiles*, *Democritus* did not own any Spirits. Nor *Aristotle*, others than the Movers of the Celestial Orbs ; which likewise his chief Interpreters held, as *Alexander*, *Simplicius*, and *Averrhoes*. Tho' others of them held otherwise ; but these receded therein from their Master, as well as in other things. First, *Theophrastus* ; many Ages afterwards, *Ammonius*, *Philoponus* ; and among the *Arabians*, *Avicenna* and *Algazel* : nor was there cause why these should be sworn to the Opinion of *Democritus*, or *Aristotle*, who before had left the Opinion of the Ancients. For *Pythagoras* asserted *Dæmons* ; and if we believe *Simplicius*, *Lib. de Anima*, he was the first of the Philosophers that did it. Nor is it to be doubted, but in it *Pythagoras* followed those whom he had used for Masters ; the *Thracians*, *Egyptians*, *Persians*, *Chaldeans*, and others. *Plato* followed this Opinion, and his Followers, *Apuleius*, *Plotinus*, *Porphyrius*, *Proclus*, and *Pfellus*.

It may seem strange, whence the *Gentiles* knew there were Spirits, or *Dæmons*, which the *Sadduces*, *Peripateticks*, and other Men, of great Name, deny : as many do at this day, who believe nothing but
what

what they feel with their Hands, or see with their Eyes. Yet not only the Vulgar of the *Gentiles*, but the Flower of the People among them, held there were Spirits: nor were these Men ignorant, that Impostors sometimes feign Spectres, or melancholy or mad Persons sometimes say they see them. And the same happens, thro' too much Fear, to many Persons, whence Women and Children, and the like, see them: And the like Reason holds in purblind, deafish, and drunken Persons, who, having a weak Sense, sometimes seriously affirm they have seen or heard things, which no Man of a sound Sense believes. Whence *Plutarch*, speaking of the Spectre of *Dion*, in his Life, writes, Those who deny such things, say no *Dæmon* or Spectre has appear'd to any sound Man; but that Children, Women, and Persons delirous, through a Weakness of Body, when they are fallen into some Error of Mind, or bodily Distemper, have strange and absurd Opinions, that they superstitiously believe some evil *Dæmon* has possess'd them. But *Plutarch* tells us in the same place, That the *Genii* of *Dion* and *Brutus*, signified their Death to them. These were not Persons of mean Spirits, but great and grave Men, both knowing in Philosophy; who, nevertheless, were so moved by the Spectres, that they sollicitously told their Friends the things they had seen. It would be too long to relate all things which have been testify'd, by grave Men, of the *Gentiles*: You may read various Authors who have treated this Argument. These relate so many Facts testify'd by Men of a sound Sense, that to deny Faith to all of them, would be only for a Man who, being self-conscious of his own Folly, measures other Men by his Foot, and thinks there are no honest Men worthy of Credit to be found. We know the Opinion of Spectres held among the *Jews*; for *Matthew* 14. and *Mark* 6. we have the Relation of Christ's walking

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walking on the Waters, and that the Disciples thought they saw a Spectre.

Nor did the *Gentiles* only gather from Spectres, that there were *Dæmons* and Spirits, but likewise from Oracles, which are otherwise called the Answers of the Gods; which were not only from the Frauds of Priests, since they predicted many things, which the Acuteness of Man's Wit could no way reach to. And this they did, to those who came to try the Oracles, subtle Men, and no way credulous. So that, tho' the Vulgar embraced all things, the more Wise did not believe all things; tho' they did many, which sufficiently appears from their Constancy in relating them. *Aristotle*, who did not believe *Dæmons*, or, at least, does not mention them, but when he speaks from the Opinion of others, ascribes Divinations to a melancholy Humour; saying, Those that abound with it, excel most in Understanding; because the Acrimony of black Choler contracts the Spirits, that they better perceive obscure and difficult Things. Nor do I deny this to have place in those whose Knowledge depends on the Senses; but the reason is differing, in those whose Knowledge draws its Origin from elsewhere. *Plutarch*, and others, chose rather to place that Cause in a Terrestrial Vapour received into a well-tempered Body, and stirring up the Mind of Man; and therefore they ascribe the failing of the Oracles, to the Earth's ceasing to emit that Vapour. But this seems trifling: for to grant that the Mind of Man may be stirred up by such Vapours; whence, I pray, will they make out they have any other Force, than to make Men deliver with more Subtilty and Eloquence the things they knew before; as Poets, when they have taken a free Glass of Wine, make better Verses? Wherefore, since *Aristotle* and *Plutarch*, Men of great Fame, could bring nothing better, I conclude we must by no means stop in inferiour Nature, but
rise

rise to the superiour Causes of Nature, such as *Dæmons*: Which, therefore, *Porphyrius* and *Jamblicus* affirmed to be the Causes of Oracles.

Those who are of another Opinion, say, That Oracles were contrived by the Frauds of Men: and this makes Oracles suspected, that commonly they were so ambiguous, that they stood in need of another Oracle to be understood. But tho' some Oracles were contrived by the Impostors of Men, it does not follow, but some were by the Fraud of illuding *Dæmons*: And if they were ambiguous, it does not follow they were not *Dæmoniacal*; because the *Dæmons* themselves, being ignorant of future Contingents, built indeed on a subtle, but a fallacious Conjecture: wherefore there was need of obscure and perplex'd Words, even for *Dæmons*, whereby the Oracles might be thought ill understood, if the Event did not answer. Nor is it enough, if you stop in the Subtilty of the Priests; because many things were foretold, to which the Mind of Man could not reach, as may appear from what is remaining of the Oracles.

The *Gentiles* also gathered there were Spirits, or incorporeal Substances, from those wonderful Works wrought by Magick, both *Theurgick*, or white Magick, and *Geotick*, or black Magick; both which are look'd upon by some to be *Dæmoniacal*, tho' others will have all Magick to be natural: and others, as *Petrus Aponensis*, say it proceeds from a vehement Imagination, which troubles the Spirits and Vapours. *Petrus Pompenatius*, in his *Treatise de Incantationibus*, L. 4. says, those stupendous things are done, not by the force of Inchantment, but of the Inchanters, and that through an occult Property of the Man. For as Stones and Herbs have wonderful Virtues, thro' the Influences of the Heavens, so, by the Influx of Heaven, one Person receives a Virtue before another of working wonderful Things: But the Case

of Plants and Stones is plainly differing, where the same Virtue agrees with the whole Species; but among Men, a few only do wonderful Things: Wherefore, since those things exceed the Power of Men, they can be from none but a *Dæmon*.

They object, that nothing has been so much desired by some, as to do wonderful things by a Commerce with *Dæmons*, but they could by no means attain it: whence they gather, that those who are called Magicians, impose on People only by juggling Tricks. But the question is not, whether the Senses many times are imposed on, but it suffices, that many things could not be done without a Compact with an evil Spirit. Nor does it matter, that many, who, with great Labour, have sought this Commerce, could not attain it. For sometimes God may not permit it, or the *Dæmon* may shun it; and commonly he applies to simple and credulous Persons, as Women, and those who are inflav'd to their Passions, as to those who burn with Lust, or a desire of Revenge, who are easily deluded and abused by them.

They gathered also there were *Dæmons*, from Ostents, or things happening against Nature, and Prodigies, which very often are the Fore-runners of the Death of Men, or of great Changes, or Revolution of Kingdoms. This is owned even by *Machiavel*, who, *L. 1. Disput. c. 36.* says, That great Changes are wont to be foretold in Towns and Provinces, and that by certain Signs, or to be denounced by the Presages of Men. The same writes thus afterwards: 'Tho' I may freely confess myself ignorant of the Cause, yet I must own the thing itself to be so, both from Ancient and Modern Examples; and acknowledge, that all great Revolutions that have happened to some City or Country, have been wont to be foretold, or forewarned by Interpreters of Dreams, or by some Revelations, Prodigies, or Signs in the Heavens. Now, whence Prodigies and Celestial

lestial Signs proceed, he cannot say, but by referring them to Spirits: for after he had profess'd himself ignorant of the Cause, he subjoins what follows; Unless haply we think fit to say with some Philosophers, that the Air is full of Spirits and Intelligences; who, foreseeing future things, and condoling human Calamities, forewarn Men of them, by these Signs, that they may be able seasonably to prepare and fortify themselves against them. Which things sufficiently teach, that since he would not have recourse to the supream Cause, he found none more proper, or meet, than Aerial Spirits.

I shall add one Passage here from the same Author, relating to the same Subject. It is in his Epistle to *Johan. Beverovicus*, concerning the *Pythonissa* of *Saul*, where he writes thus: As for those who are of a contrary Opinion, they cannot persuade themselves that Spirits have any Commerce with Men; and I have often talk'd with such Persons, and have found them to have read the Scriptures very negligently, or however they might dissemble, that they little set by the Authority of the Scripture. So far *Vossius*. And this is confirmed by *Mr. Bayle*, who, in his *Dictionary*, under the word *Ruggeri*, says, there are Christians Orthodox in all things else, but cannot persuade themselves that evil Angels are concerned in any thing, and reject, without exception, all that is said of Magick and Witchcraft: if they contented themselves to say, there is nothing but the Scripture can prove the Existence and Operation of evil Spirits, we should not wonder at their Opinion; for it's certain, that Reason furnishes strong Difficulties against the Empire of the Devil, founded on the Notion we have of God's Wisdom and Goodness: but it's a very rash Undertaking, not to say somewhat worse, to go about to reconcile a Rejection of all the Power of the Devil with the Scripture.

Thus

Thus we see it's known, not only by Tradition, but by a fourfold Reason besides, that there are Spirits.

And I think the learned *Vossius* has here touch'd upon all the material Points relating to this Subject, and sufficiently shewn, that it is not easy for any Man to set up any Hypothesis but that of Spirits, tolerably to solve the Phænomena, or unquestionable historical Facts, which are alledged concerning these Matters; and I wonder the learned *Dr. Van Dale* should conclude, that all that pass'd in the Oracles, was by the Impostures of the Priests, when I find elsewhere, he is free to own other Things for true and real, and not to have been acted by Imposture, which seem to me as strange as any things which are said to have pass'd in the Oracles, and much of the same nature with them.

In his dedicatory Preface to his Dissertations concerning the Origin and Progress of Idolatry and Superstition, he gives us a Relation of a thing which passed at *Amsterdam*, Anno 1566. which Relation he takes from the History of the Reformation, written by the Reverend *Gerrard Brantius*, and attested by unexceptionable Persons. It is thus: A great part of those Children who were maintained in the Hospital of Orphans, both Boys and Girls, and those to the Number of sixty or seventy, being obsess'd by evil Spirits, were not only sorely troubled with various and great Torments, so that being afterwards restored to their Health, somewhat of the Evil remained with them throughout their whole Life; but also climbed up the Walls and tops of Houses like Cats; cast such perverse and hellish Looks on Persons, that they much daunted even the stoutest Hearts: They spake strange Languages, and with a hissing Tongue, disclosed many wonderful Things of what, at the moment they spake, was transacting in the Counsel-House of the City: For it happened that one
of

in the Temples of the GENTILES. 167
of these Boys said to *Katharine Gerrard*, one of the Mothers (as they call them) of the Hospital-Children, Your Son *John Nicholas* is going to the *Hague*, but he will do no good there: after which Words she leads this Boy with her, he being then a little freed from his Fits, to the Town-House, and at that moment in which the Counsel of the Town was broke up, her Son met her as she was going down the Stairs, whom she ask'd whether he were going to the *Hague*: he being surpriz'd, confess'd it. She added, this Boy here told it me; which being heard, the Thing was told the Bourrough-Masters; and that Resolution being now detected, the going to the *Hague* was omitted. And a little beneath he goes on thus:

And tho' these Boys were closely lock'd up in the Monastery of the *Paulinists*, yet they could break open those Gates that were lock'd, and ran out in Crowds, ten or twelve together, through the Streets, and went to the Mayor's House, and upbraided him with wonderful Things, and, as many say, for his cruel Mind to the Reformed; and it's said they discovered many secret Counsels which were in agitation against the new preaching of the Protestants.

Here *Dr. Van Dale* adds: I do not deny but what is here related really happened; but he will have these supernatural Things to have been wrought by these Children, by order of Divine Providence, and not by the being obsess'd by evil Spirits, as the Historian and all others affirmed it. But what will he say to the many other Visitations in this kind, which we have altogether as well attested as this: Will he have them all to be wrought by the Order of Providence, or by Imposture, without the Intervention of Spirits; or will he give us some other fair Hypothesis to solve them? His Resolution for one of these ways will be expected.

Mr. *Fontenelle* wrote a History of Oracles, backing Dr. *Van Dale*'s Opinion, maintaining, that evil Spirits were not concerned in the Oracles of the *Gentiles*; and Mr. *Fontenelle* in his third Chapter sets forth, that one Reason why the Christians held the Opinion of *Dæmons* being concerned in the Oracles, was, that they were fond of *Plato*'s System, who maintained the Opinion of *Dæmons*. To this, Father *Baltus*, a Dominican, who has writ two Volumes in *Octavo* against Mr. *Fontenelle*, in his first Volume, Part I. Chap. 15. and the following, makes this Reply: That, setting by the Opinion of *Plato*, there were three true Reasons why the antient Christians held *Dæmons* were concerned in the Oracles. The first of these Reasons is the Authority of the Scripture, and here he gives an Instance in the Oracle of *Beelzebub*, which was at *Achaz*; and that *Ochozias*, King of *Israel*, sent to consult him to know whether he should recover of his Disease. But that which more strongly persuaded the antient Christians to this Opinion, was, the perfect Conformity they observed there was betwixt the Oracles of the *Gentiles* and those the idolatrous *Jews* consulted; such as Diviners, Magicians, and false Prophets, and particularly all the Men and Women that were possess'd with a Spirit called *Python*, of which it is so often spoken in the Scripture. They could not doubt but these Spirits were true *Dæmons*, since St. *Paul* drove away an evil Spirit from a Girl who was possess'd with it; and the Spirits of the Priests and Priestesses of *Delphos* were of the same nature with that in this Girl. The Second Reason which confirmed the antient Christians in this Sentiment, which they had learned from the Scripture, and which confirmed them after a way that they could not doubt a moment of it, was, That they themselves drove away the *Dæmons* from the Oracles, and from the Persons by whom they gave their Answers. That they obliged the evil Spirits that presided in the Oracles

cles to own, in the Presence of the *Pagans* themselves, that they were evil seducing Spirits. That they forc'd them, by the Invocation of the Name of *Jesus Christ*, to quit the Priests and Priestesses of the Idols, whom they had possess'd after the same manner that *St. Paul* drove away the Spirit *Python* by which that Girl, of whom it is spoken in the *Acts of the Apostles*, deliver'd also Answers and Oracles: and they so certainly drove away these evil Spirits; they silenced them with so absolute an Empire; they forced them so necessarily to own what they were, that they challenged the *Pagans* to make an Experiment, so far, as to offer themselves to be put to death, if they did not drive them away, before their Eyes, and in their Presence, and make them own their Imposture. And here the Author cites many Passages from the antient Fathers, *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, *St. Cyprian*, *Minutius Felix*, *Athanasius*, *Arnobius*, &c. very full and expressive to this Effect, which I recommend to the perusal of any Persons that doubt of this Fact. Indeed the *Pagans* said that this proceeded not from the Power and Authority the Christians had over their Gods, but from the Horror and Hatred their Gods had for the Christians and their Religion; but *Lactantius*, *L. 4. Inst. Divin. c. 27.* says to this, As tho' any one could hate another, but him that either hurts him, or can hurt him; nay, it's more agreeing with Majesty presently to punish those they hate, than to fly from them.

There was an Anonymous Person who published Remarks in Defence of what *Mr. Fontenelle* had advanced against evil Spirits having been concerned in the Oracles, and brought Arguments against *Father Baltus's* Reasons for such Spirits having been concerned in them; to which Arguments *Father Baltus*, in his Second Volume, Part. I. c. 16, and the following, replies, That all the Fathers, not one excepted, have spoken of this Power which

the Christians had of driving away *Demons*, by the Invocation of the Name of *Jesus Christ*; and that there is not one of them but has given Instances of it, and used them as Proofs of the Divinity of Christ, and of the Truth of our Religion. That all the Faithful of the first Ages, were convinced of this, and that no Persuasion was more constant, more universal, and more authorized, than this; that there is not one of the antient *Pagans*, even of the most violent against the Christians, that has charged them of Imposture in this kind, and that has denied that they drove away *Demons*, as they confidently asserted in their Books; that when the *Pagans* gave for a Reason of their Oracles ceasing in the Presence of the Christians, that it was not from the Power the Christians had over their Gods, but from the Horror and Hatred their Gods had for the Christians and their Religion; they most clearly own the Fact in question. That *Celsus* himself was so far from denying this Power to the Christians, that he owns they really had it; but renewing the Calumny by which the *Jews* tried to deny the same divine Power which was in *Jesus Christ*, by saying that he drove away *Demons* but by *Beelzebub* the Prince of them; he said the same, that this Power of the Christians proceeded but from Inchantments, and the Invocations of *Demons*. On which *Origen* answer'd him, that this was a gross Put-off, and a manifest Calumny, since it's evident the Christians did not imploy either Magick or Inchantments to drive away *Demons*, but the sole Invocation of the Name of *Jesus Christ*, with a simple Recital of some of his Actions: And when *Celsus* and some other of the *Pagans*, ascribed to Magick the Power the Christians excercised over *Demons*, they did not deny that Power; on the contrary, it's evident that by what they said, they owned it at bottom, and agreed to it.

Upon the whole, I think the general Agreement of the Fathers in this Fact, of the Power the Christians had over the *Dæmons* attending the Oracles, and elsewhere, is not fairly answerable; for to deny Faith to the Fathers in a thing so clearly and generally asserted by them, and not disproved by their Enemies seems to me to be a high Violation of Humanity, they having been Persons of Learning and Integrity; and all that is said against them, is of too little Weight to counter-balance such a Testimony in an evident Matter of Fact.

The third Reason the Christians had to believe *Dæmons* were the Authors of the Oracles, was, that the Oracles led Men to all sorts of Crimes and detestable Infamies; whence they concluded, that the Oracles could not come but from these cursed Spirits, who seek but to destroy Men, and throw them head-long into all Deviations and Disorders; they led Men to human Sacrifices, which could not be commanded but by *Dæmons*, or Men possess'd by them. So, they commanded the Practice of all monstrous Lusts in their Temples, Games, and Festivals; the Oracles also led Men to Idolatry, Wars, Murders, Seditions, and caused infinite Deaths, and the entire Ruins of Kingdoms and Common-wealths.

Father *Baltus*, for a Conclusion to the first Part of his Answer to Mr. *Fontenelle's History of Oracles*, addresses himself to him after this manner: Sir, I know not whether what has convinced these great Men, and with them all Christian Antiquity, will suffice to persuade you; however it may be, I pray you to examine these Reasons by which they believ'd *Dæmons* were the Authors of the Oracles of Paganism, and to tell me afterwards, whether to be convinced, as they were, they could have more certain, or more convincing Proofs, than the Testimony of the Scripture, the Testimony of their Eyes

and Ears, and in short, that of the Oracles themselves.

I shall here add one Relation concerning these Matters, which seems to me to carry some Weight. *Origen*, in his seventh Book against *Celsus*, writes, that *Celsus* says, at the Temples of *Trophonius*, *Amphiaraus*, and *Mopsus*, their Gods were seen in human Shapes; and that not in a false Appearance, but manifestly conspicuous: to which *Origen* answers, not by denying the Fact, but saying, we know these to be *Dæmons*, and to be fed with the Blood and Steams of exhaling Victims, and that they are retained by these Baits in those Prisons, which the *Greeks* think to be the Temples of the Gods; but we have certainly found, that they are the Habitations of imposturous *Dæmons*. *Origen* adds; *Celsus*, after this, maliciously says, concerning the 'foresaid Gods presenting themselves in human Shape, that they did not pass by once, as Christ the Seducer did, but always familiarly discoursed with those that desired a Converse with them: By which Words he seems to intimate, that he accounted Christ for a Spectre when he was seen by his Disciples after his Resurrection, as tho' he had passed before their Eyes with a sudden Flight; but that those Gods to whom he ascribes a human Shape, denied not a personal Converse with any one who desired it. But could a Spectre (as he thinks) swiftly passing by, to deceive Men after an Illusion of their Eyes, operate so efficaciously, and convert the Souls of such Men, and persuade them to do all things according to the Will of God, who would call them to an account, in Judgment? How could such a Spectre make *Dæmons* fly, and perform other great Works, not keeping to one Place, as those Gods he speaks of in a human Shape, but passing through the whole habitable World, and gathering and drawing to him by his divine Power, as many as he finds inclinable to live well? So far

Origen.

Origen. Now, when *Celsus* says, the Gods commonly appear'd in a Human Shape, and freely conversed with any that desired it, did he lye in it? If so, certainly it was the highest Impudence or Folly in him, to offer this before so learned a Man as *Origen*; who, he must imagine, would well inform himself from many others of the learned *Gentiles*, concerning the Truth of this Fact.

There is one Crime that Father *Baltus* charges the Oracles of, beside those mentioned already, which also makes out, that *Dæmons* were concerned in the Oracles; viz. That Magical Practices appear in the way the Oracles were given, and in their Establishment.

In his first Volume, *Part I. c. 15.* he says, the ancient Christians did not doubt of this; they were persuaded it was as much by Magical Incantments, as thro' their own Malice, that the *Dæmons* possess'd themselves of certain Places, and Persons, by which means they gave Answers. And if you consider what *Porphyrus*, *Jamblicus*, and *Eunapius* relate of these same Oracles, and what they teach concerning their detestable *Theurgia*, which was nothing but the Art of calling forth of *Dæmons*, and making them give Oracles; you will understand with the ancient Christians, that the Oracles were always accompany'd with Magick: and if the *Dæmons* were the Authors of Magick, they were the true Authors of the Oracles.

Again, Father *Baltus*, *Chap. 20.* writes thus: *Eusebius* shews that the Oracles taught Magick; and he proves it at large, by the Testimony of *Porphyrus*, and of the Oracles which he has produced to authorize his *Theurgick* Philosophy, to which the greatest Part of the Philosophers, of his time, were extreamly given, with himself. And here Father *Baltus* quotes a Passage from *Eusebius*, *Præp. Evang. L. 5. C. 10.* tho' in the Edition I have of his Works, which is
that

that of *Basil*, in which the *Præp. Evang.* is translated by *Trapezuntius*, I find it is at the beginning of the seventh Chapter, where he writes thus : The Gods themselves, of the *Gentiles*, were the Inventors and Teachers of the Magick Art : For whence should Men learn, but from the *Dæmons* themselves, with what things they are compelled ? So *Porphyrus* says, in his Book of Oracles, *Dæmons* have signified to Men, not only their fortunate Conversation, but likewise with what things they are delighted, and by what they may be understood ; and moreover, by what things they may be compelled, and what things are to be offered to them, and what Days must be shunn'd, and of what kind the Figures of the Images ought to be, and in what Places they frequent ; and there is nothing which has not been learned from the Gods themselves. So far *Eusebius*, from *Porphyrus*. Now, here we find that the Managers of the Oracles were acquainted in the Magick Art, as the Philosophers of those Times generally were. And *Leonardus Lessius*, in his second Book *de Justitia & Jure*, plainly says, That all the *Platonicks*, he not excepting *Marcilius Ficinus*, either were Magicians, or Favourers of Magick. And indeed the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets were initiated in the same, as is easily seen in their Works. Nor, in truth, are their Works rightly to be understood in many places, (tho' they may be construed) without a Magical Key. And those secret Sciences were openly taught in *Spain* and *Italy*, till the Time of the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*, who suppress'd their being publicly taught in Schools, for some politick Reasons ; tho' they are still privately taught by a certain Body of Men, who are thought fit to be entrusted with them. I do not mean the invisible Body of the *Rosy-Crucians*, which much amused our *Dr. Flood* ; but another Body, which may not improperly be called by the foregoing Name ; they generally carrying about them a Rose (tho' unob-

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served by many) as a Symbol of Silence ; and are many of them crucified Christians, as all who experimentally know what a Regeneration is, must be. As for the Society of *Rosy-Crucians*, which has made some Noise in the World, *Heideggerus*, in the Life he wrote of *Ludovicus Fabricius*, tells us, that his Father, who was born *Anno* 1575, and died *Anno* 1638, wrote a Book against the Brothers of the *Rosy Cross* : the Author of which Sect was one *Jungius*, a Professor of the Mathematicks at *Hamburg* ; a Libertine, who, in his Cups, impudently and impiously conspiring with his Companions, to amuse the World with some specious new Invention, printed and published to the World the Book entitled, *The Fame of the Rosy Cross*. And *Ludovicus Fabricius* confirmed this, having it from the Mouth of the Secretary of *Heidelberg*, who was privy to this Imposture.

This perhaps may be the *Jungius* mention'd in a Book written by *Dr. Garmannus*, intitled, *Oologia* ; where, *pag.* 35. the *Doct̃or* tells us, it was told for certain to *Sebastian Jungius*, that a Dog which had devoured some Food, which a Country Woman had prepared for her Hens, to make them lay store of Eggs, and larger than ordinary, as he followed his Master in a Journey, was seen by many Spectators to void many Eggs, one after the other, which made him very weak ; but that Food being carry'd off, upon this Excretion, he was restored to his former Vigour. This Story might very well have been added to his Book of the *Rosy-Crucians*.

As I have intimated before, that the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets, among the *Gentiles*, were initiated in the secret Sciences, and were not ignorant of a Regeneration, and the New Birth, (they calling the Visitation in which these are manifested, *a Dreaming on Parnassus*, where all Mysteries are revealed to them) and the Method used to bring Men to them ; so some of our Christian Poets were knowing in the same.

And

And the ingenious Poet *Palingenius*, whose Name imports a Regeneration, in the tenth Book of his *Zodiacus Vitæ*, gives us a Process for bringing Men to a regenerate State, which he calls a Process for making the Philosopher's-Stone, for you must know these two commonly go together : Which Process the Philosophers obtained, addressing themselves to *Sol*, *Luna*, and *Mercury*, begging them to teach them some easy way whereby they might have an honest Support, and not be expos'd to the Contempt of the Vulgar. And as the reading of this Book was prohibited by the Council of *Trent*, possibly it may be, because this grand Secret is divulged in it. However, to gratify the Chymists, and others who may make a good Use of it, I shall give you here the Process, dictated by *Phæbus*, as follows.

*Hunc juvenem Arcadium, infidum, nimiumq; fugacem,
Prendite, & immersum stygiis occidite lymphis.*

*Mox Hyales gremio impositum, Deus excipiat quem
Lemnia terra colit, sublatumq; in cruce figat.*

Tunc sepelite utero in calido & dissolvite putrem ;

*Cujus stillantes Artus de Corpore nostro,
Spiritus egredius penetrabit, & ordine miro,
Paulatim extinctum nigris revocabit ab umbris
Auratâ indutum chlamyde, argentôq; nitentem.*

Projicite hunc demum in prunos, renovabitur alter

Ut Phœnix, & quæ tangit perfecta relinquet

Corpora, Naturæ leges & fœdera vincens :

Mutabit Species paupertatemq; fugabit.

Take this Arcadian, flitting, treacherous Boy,

And, dipp'd in Stygian Waters, him destroy.

Then set on Hyale's Lap, let Lemnos God

Take him to him, and crucify the Lad.

Then, in a warm Womb plac'd, his Taint dissolve,

Whose dropping Limbs a Spirit shall devolve

From me, and penetrate ; and strangely so,

Dead

*Dead by degrees, shall bring to life a-new,
All clad in Robes of gold and silver Hue.
Cast him again on hot Coals, Proteus like,
He'll be renew'd, and all he touches make
Most perfect: Nature's Laws and Powers excell;
Species he'll change, and Poverty repell.*

I have formerly desired many learned Men, as occasion presented, to explain the Meaning of these Verses to me; but could never be gratify'd in it, till some Person, who keeps himself conceal'd, and will not vouchsafe to be known to me, gave me some Intimation of it in some secret way.

In what I have intimated before, that there is a Body of Men, a select Number of whom apply themselves to some secret Sciences for the end mention'd; it is not said by rote by me: for an intimate Acquaintance of mine, on whose Veracity I can rely, has assured me more than once, that he has been invited to be of that Society, who would freely communicate all their ways of proceedings to him, and let him make his choice to live in what Part of *Europe* he pleas'd, and have all things allowed him to his desire, if he would join with them. But, tho' he would willingly have been let into the whole Mystery, which must be a great Satisfaction, and perhaps the greatest Scene this World affords, and highly desirable by any Man; yet he could not prevail with himself to comply with some Conditions propos'd to him, and did not proceed. And, as by what he has practically known in their Proceedings, he finds it's a two-edg'd Sword they manage, which will cut both ways, and may be well or ill applied: He wishes them well in making a good Use of it, and that they would well consider the Subjects they work upon; for certainly here, if any where, Men ought thoroughly to consider, *Quid valeant humeri, quid ferre recusent.* And I doubt not but many perish under

178 *A Discourse of the Oracles deliver'd*
that Operation, as *Eustachius* tells us, that *Circe's*
Potions destroy those whom the Muses do not fa-
vour; according to which, *Theocritus* concludes his
ninth *Idyllium*, thus :

Those, whom the Muses favour, stand a Proof,
'Gainst Circe's Potions, and the Power of Love.

Plutarch, in his Book concerning the virtuous
Acts of Women, tells us the following Story : There
was a time when the *Milesian* Virgins fell into a
strange Raving, and a terrible Humour, without any
apparent Cause ; only it was conjectured it must be
some poisonous Quality of the Air, which caused
this Alienation of Mind. They were all on a sud-
den seized with a desire of dying, and a furious Hu-
mour of hanging themselves, and many did it se-
cretly ; and no Remonstrances, nor Tears of Parents,
no Consolation of Friends, could any way prevail
with them : for they found ways of destroying them-
selves in despite of all those who narrowly watch'd
them. So that, at length, it was thought a Punish-
ment sent by God, and that no humane means could
remedy it, 'till, by the Advice of a prudent Citizen,
an Edict was published, That if any one hanged her-
self for the future, her Body should be exposed
naked in the publick Market-place, which clearly
put a stop to this Humour. Whence *Plutarch* con-
cludes, it's a great sign of a good and virtuous Na-
ture, to shew such a fear of Infamy and Dishonour,
that those, who neither dreaded Death, or Pain,
could not bear the Imagination of a Shame and Dis-
grace, which could not affect them but after their
Death. So far *Plutarch*. *Servius*, on the second
Book of *Virgil's Georgicks*, tells us, that the same
Frenzy once happened to the Virgins at *Athens*.

Now, as for this seemingly unaccountable Dis-
ease, I doubt not but the Managers of the secret
Arts I have mentioned, knew well enough what it
was, and possibly an Over-dose of their Physick may
have

have gone a great way towards promoting it. And I could wish no more Instances, even in latter Ages, were to be found of that kind. It appears, by the form of putting a stop to that Disease before-mentioned, it was a mental Disease, no bodily Contagion, or poisonous Air, which could not have been stopp'd that way. We know *Regimen animorum est ars artium* ; but there is a great Nicety in it.

*Mite hominum ingenium flecti ducique per artes
Non rigidas, docta mobilitate decet.*

*Youth's tender Minds should be wrought on, and led
By gentle Arts, not roughly managed.*

To return to *Virgil*. As I have affirmed the Birth celebrated by *Virgil* to be the inward Birth, I may take notice, we find three ways for bringing Men to this regenerate State. The first is, by the immediate Call or Visitation of God, as it happened to Saint *Paul*. The second, by the common training of Church Discipline. The third, by a Means more than ordinary used to bring the Mind of Man to be delivered of this Birth. And this was the way generally used by the *Gentiles* for this end, the Managers of this Work having a regard to that Saying of the Poet,

*Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo.
This is the long Line which great Fishers use,
When muddy Streams lie wide, and Fish refuse
The Bait thrown near the Shore——*

Nor do I wonder at this Proceeding among the *Gentiles* ; for indeed they had no genuine training, as there is among Christians, for bringing Persons otherwise to a regenerate State, which they look'd on as the most perfect and consummate State a Man can arrive at in this Life, and consequently for the great Benefit of Mankind.

It seems strange, that even among the *Americans*, there is found a Discipline carrying some Analogy to those used by us for bringing Men to a regenerate
A a 2 State,

State, by mortifying the luxuriant Spirit of Man : So that he shall be set on a new foot for guiding his Actions during the remainder of his Life. And since I conceive it may be grateful to those who are not vers'd in History, and may not have heard Relations of this nature, I shall give here some Instances of it.

Mr. *Lawson*, in his Account of the *Indians* of *North-Carolina*, tells us, they have an odd Custom among them called *Husquenawing* their young Men, in which they proceed thus. Most commonly, once a Year, or at least once in two Years, these People take as many of their young Men, as they think are able to undergo this Practice, which, they say, is to make them obedient and respectful to their Superiours, and is the same to them as it is to send our Children to School, to be taught good Breeding and Letters. The House appointed for it, is a large strong Cabin, made on purpose for the Reception of the young Men and Boys that have not passed this Initiation, and it is always at *Christmas* that this is done. The Youths are then brought into this House, and kept there in the Dark during the Transaction, where they more than half starve them. Beside, they give them *Pellitory-Bark*, and several intoxicating Plants, that make them go as raving mad, as any People ever were ; and you may hear them make the most dismal and hellish Cries and Howlings that ever Human Creatures express'd. All which continues about five or six Weeks, and the little Meat they eat, is the nastiest, loathsome Stuff, and mix'd with all manner of Filth it's possible to get. After the time is expired, they are brought out of their Cabin, which is never in the Town, but always at a distance off, and guarded by a Jaylor or two, who watch by turns. When they first come out of the House, they are as poor as possibly may be, and several die under this diabolical Purgation. Moreover, they
either

either really are, or pretend to be dumb, and do not speak for several days ; Mr. *Lawson* thinks, twenty, or thirty : and look so ghastly, and are so changed, that it's in a manner impossible to know them again, tho' you were never so well acquainted with them before. He would fain have gone into the House of Confinement, to have seen them in their time of Purgation ; but the King would not suffer it, telling him, they would do him, or any other white Man a mischief that ventured in among them, which made him desist. They deal after the same manner with the Girls, as with the Boys ; and these young People are very much afraid of it, many of them running away at the time to avoid it. The Savages say, if it were not for this, they could never keep their Youth in Subjection ; beside that, it hardens them to the Fatigues, and all manner of Hardships, which their way of living exposes them to ; that it carries off all infirm Bodies that would have been only a Burthen and Disgrace to their Nation, and saves the Victuals and Cloathing for better People, that would have been expended on such useless Creatures.

After Mr. *Lawson* has given us this Account, he observes that very few give us Accounts of these Savages as they ought ; which happens, because those, who write Histories of this new World, are such as Interest, Preferment and Merchandize draw thither, and know no more of that People, than they do of the *Laplanders*, which is only by Hearsay.

Mr. *Beverly*, in his *History of Virginia*, gives us like account of this *Husquenawing* Practice in use there, as follows.

The Solemnity of *Husquenawing* is commonly practised there every fourteen or sixteen Years, or oftener, as their Young Men happen to grow up. It is an Institution, or Discipline, that all young Men must pass, before they can be admitted of the number of the

the great *Men*, or *Cockarouses* (as they call them) of the Nation. The whole Ceremony is performed after the following manner.

The choicest, and briskest young Men of the Town, and such only as have acquired some Treasure in their Travels and Hunting, are chosen out by their Rulers to be *Husquenaw'd*; and whoever refuses to undergo this Process, dares not remain among them. They carry them into the Woods, and there keep them under Confinement, and destitute of all Society, for several Months, giving them no other Sustenance but the Infusion or Decoction of some poisonous intoxicating Roots, by virtue of which Physick, and by the Severity of the Discipline they undergo, they become stark staring mad; in which raving Condition they are kept eighteen or twenty Days. During these Extremities, they are shut up Night and Day in a strong Inclosure, made on purpose, one of which he saw belonging to the *Paumaunkie Indians*, in the Year 1694. It was in the Shape of a Sugar-Loaf, and every way open like a Lettice for the Air to pass through, of which he has given a Cut, *Tab. 4. fig. 31.* In this Cage thirteen young Men had been *Husquenaw'd*, and had not been a Month set at liberty, when he saw it. Upon this Occasion it is pretended, that these poor Creatures drink so much of that Water of *Lethe*, that they perfectly loose their Remembrance of all former things, even of their Parents, their Treasure, and their Language. When the Doctors find they have drank sufficiently of the *Wysoccan*, so they call this mad Potion, they gradually restore them to their Senses again, by lessening the Intoxication of their Diet. But before they are perfectly well, they bring them back into their Towns, while they are still wild and crazy through the Violence of the Medicine. After this, they are very fearful of discovering any thing of their former Remembrance; for if such a thing should

should happen to any of them, they immediately must be *Husquenaw'd* again. Now whether this be real or counterfeit, I do not know, *says he*; but certain it is, they will not for some time take notice of any body, nor any thing with which they were before acquainted, being still under the Guard of their Keepers, who constantly wait upon them every where 'till they have learned all things perfectly over again: And thus they unlive their former Lives, and commence Men by forgetting they ever were Boys.

I can account no other way, *says he*, for the great Pains and Secrecy of the Keepers during the whole Process of this Discipline, but by assuring you it is the most meritorious thing in the World to discharge that Trust well, in order to their Preferment to the greatest Posts of the Nation, which they claim as their undoubted Right in the next Promotion. And on the other hand, they are sure of a Passport into the other World, if they should by their Levity, or Neglect, shew themselves in the least unfaithful.

Those whom I ever have seen, *says he*, to be *Husquenaw'd*, were lively, handsome, well-timber'd young Men, from fifteen to twenty Years of Age, or upwards, and such as were generally reputed rich.

I confess, *says he*, I thought it at first sight to be only an Invention of the Seniors to ingross the young Mens Riches to themselves; for after suffering this Operation, they never pretended to call to mind any thing of their former Prosperity, but their Goods were either shared among the old Men, or brought to some publick Use, and so those Youngsters were obliged to begin the World a-new.

But the *Indians* detest this Opinion, and pretend that this violent Method of taking away the Memory, is, to release the Youth of all their childish Impressions; and from that strong Partiality to Persons and Things, which is contracted before Reason comes to take place, they hope by this proceeding to

root out all the Prepossession and unreasonable Prejudices which are fix'd in the Minds of Children ; so that, when the young Men come to themselves again, their Reason may act freely without being byass'd by the Cheats of Custom and Education. Thus also they become discharged from the Remembrance of any Tyes of Blood, and are established in a State of Equality and perfect Freedom to order their Actions, and dispose of their Persons as they think fit, without any other Controul than that of the Law of Nature. By this means also they become qualified, when they have any publick Office, equally and impartially to administer Justice, without having respect either to Friend or Relation. So far *Mr. Beverly*.

Mr. Purchas, in the fourth Part of his *Pilgrimage*, L. 1. c. 6. gives us some farther Account relating to this Practice in *Virginia*, to whom, for brevity sake, I refer the Reader.

Garcilissa de la Vega, in his *History of the Incas of Peru*, L. 6. c. 24. gives a Relation of a Practice somewhat like the foregoing, where he writes of the Ceremonies observed in conferring Knighthood on the young *Incas*, which Honour rendred them capable of all Employments, both Military and Civil, and without which they were not allow'd capable of either. I refer you likewise to the Author.

I have given you the foregoing Instances of the Practices used by the *Americans* for subduing the luxuriant Spirit of Man, and bringing it to a new State, which, as it carries some remote Resemblance to the Work of Regeneration, so it seems to have no small Agreement with what has been practis'd among the *Gentiles* in the other parts of the World ; who, in the Rites they used in their Expiations, and mystical Regenerations, pretended, as the *Americans* did, to set the Mind of Man on a new foot, after its being purged and cleared of the vicious Habits contracted by it, through evil Impressions and Prepossession,

possessions, which Man is subject to from his Infancy. No one could be initiated in the sacred Mysteries of *Mithres*, among the *Persians*, 'till he had undergone all kinds of Chastisements, of which there were eighty Degrees, some more remiss, others more severe: for they began with the more mild, and so proceeded to the others. For instance, they must swim for many days over large Extents of Waters; then cast themselves into the Fire, afterward live in a Solitude, and undergo long Fastings, and other the like Disciplines. When they had thus given a Proof of their Sanctity, and Fortitude of Mind, and of their being superior to their Passions, impatiently bearing and abiding all those Torments, if they survived them, they were then at last initiated in the secret Mysteries of *Mithres*. But I must here tell you, that a magical Operation works a greater Mortification, and brings the Mind of Man to a greater Purity than all these Severities; which Truth, perhaps, nothing but Experience may convince some Men of.

I hope, in what I have here written, I have explained some Things of Antiquity more clearly than others may have done. It was what I had in view when I set upon this Composure. If some Men do not value Studies of this nature, others perhaps may: And indeed I do not know what may deserve a Man's Inquiry, if these things do not. Men's Imaginations are whirl'd about by various Impulses, some one way, and some another, and their Thoughts are variously directed, according to the various Impressions their Minds may have received.

Resenius, in his Preface to the *Edda Islandorum*, tells us, *Ottinus*, the Hero or God of the Northern People, was often seen to appear in the Form of an old Man, who had but one Eye. The Reason of which the *Edda* tells us, was, that *Ottinus* came one day to *Mimerus*, who had the Fountain of Wisdom in his possession,

session, and desired that he might have a Draught of it ; which not obtaining, he pawn'd one of his Eyes for it. Whereupon Freedom being given him, as soon as he had drank, he found himself adorned with an eminent Understanding and Wisdom. *Ottinus* having therefore pawn'd one of his Eyes, which perhaps he never received again, it's no wonder if he often appeared having but one Eye.

Now this Fable, I conceive, may be thus explained ; That a Man has two Eyes, one of *Faith*, and another of *Reason* ; and that the latter must be laid by, for him to drink of the Fountain of Wisdom with the Eye of *Faith* alone.

Callimachus, in his *Hymn* on the Birth of *Pallas*, tells us, that *Tiresias*, having seen her there naked, was wholly deprived of his Eye-sight ; and that *Pallas*, being moved by the Tears of *Chariclo*, the Mother of *Tiresias*, who sorely complain'd of it, and for whom she had a great kindness, told her, That she had not caused her Son to lose his Sight, but that it was a Judgment had passed according to the Laws of *Saturn*, that if any Man should behold any of the immortal Gods, without their leave, he should receive a severe Punishment ; which Decree was irrevocable, since the Destinies had ordered it so at her Son's Birth : but that she would make him an ample amends for his Loss, she would endow him with the Spirit of Prophecy beyond all others ; give him a noble Staff to guide him in his way ; grant him a long term of Life ; and, when he died, he should be honourably entertained by *Pluto*, in the subterraneous Regions, and pass up and down among the Dead as the sole wise Man. Now, I conceive, the genuine Explication of this Fable to be thus : Whoever has seen the Goddess of Wisdom naked, or without her Veil, must lose his Eye-sight, as *Homer*, as well as *Tiresias*, is said to have done : for after such a Sight, the Eye of Man's Understanding is otherwise directed than according

to common Sensations, they are become introverted, are past into the invisible World, and have a free Communication in *Hades*, or the *Elysian-Fields* :

Solemque suum, sua Sydera norunt.

They have the Gift of Prophecy ; they have a Staff to guide them in their way ; are long-liv'd as the *Sybil*, length of Life being calculated, not by the number of Years, but by extent of Knowledge, as to things past, present, and to come : And I am inclined to think, that Men qualified according to this Explanation, may take some Gust in what I have written in this Book.





NOTES

CONCERNING

GENII,

OR

FAMILIAR SPIRITS.



HAVING some Years since published a Book of *Genii*, or *Familiar Spirits*, I shall here give you a few short Notes relating to them.

Lomeierus, in his Book, *De Veterum Gentilium Lustrationibus*, c. 11. where he writes of visible Appearances of the Gods of the *Gentiles*, sets down a Passage we have in *Heliodorus*, *Æth.* 1. 3. where *Calasiris* tells *Cnemon*, that he had seen *Apollo* and *Diana*, not in a Dream, but really ; and adds, The Gods and Deities, *Cnemon*, as they come to us, and go from us, transform themselves, for the most part, into a human Shape ; but very rarely into that of other Animals. And tho' they are not seen by the Prophane, they cannot escape being known by the Wise : for they may be discerned by their Eyes, they having always a steadfast Look, and never closing their Eye-lids. And they
are

are much more known by their Motion, which is, not by setting one Foot before the other, but by a certain aerial *Impetus*, readily cleaving the Air, rather than by a walking through it. Wherefore the *Egyptians* make the Statues of their Gods with their Feet join'd together, and as it were united. Which things also *Homer* knowing, as being an *Egyptian*, and instructed in their secret Learning, has intimated after an occult and intricate manner, leaving them to be understood by those that can understand them. So he says of *Pallas*,

Atque truces oculi fulsere tuenti:

And of *Neptune*,

*Namque pedum crurumque simul vestigia pone
Perfacile agnovi, remeante aurasque secante.*

The Words *perfacile remeante* importing a flowing Passage: from this sort of passing, the Gods are said by the *Greeks* to slide along. *Theocritus*, Idyll. 27. writes,

Immortales vero vocantur Dii sine pedum usu facti.

From such a Passage *Æneas* knew his Mother going from him, *Virg.* 1. *Æneid.* v. 400. & 5 *Æneid.* 647, 648, 649.

Et vera incessu patuit Dea.

viz. As carried on by a light Wind, as a small Vessel, or as sliding away by a slippery Motion, as on Ice. Nor have such Appearances of the Gods been accounted vain, but efficacious, and carrying with them some salutiferous Aid, as being wont to portend, either Health to the Sick, or Comfort to the Afflicted,
or

or Aid to those that labour under any Difficulties.
So far *Lomeierus*.

I have noted this Passage of *Heliodorus*, with the Additions of *Lomeierus*, because I think the Tradition of this Fact well deserves to be transmitted to Posterity, it being a faithful Account of the manner after which *Genii*, or Familiar Spirits, appear to those who see them, when other Persons present see no such thing. And as I have averr'd my own Experience in this kind, I must declare, that as often as those *Genii* have appear'd to me, it has always been with that swimming Motion through the Air, and not setting one Foot before the other, as usual with Men, when they pass from one place to another. I know many Persons laugh at all Apparitions; and it's not for those I record these things, but for those to whom such *Genii* may appear; who, as they will be much surprized at the first Sight of them, I know will be glad to find that others have had the like Experiences, and to be instructed in the manner of their Appearance, and in what they may portend.

I shall farther here observe to you, that whenever such *Genii* have appeared to me, I have always look'd on my self to have been, for that time, in an extatick State of Mind; and conclude, that most Persons, who see Apparitions, unseen by others, present with them, are in such a state, tho' many times unobserv'd by themselves; the various Dispositions of Mens Minds not being to be understood without a good share of philosophical Learning, and much Application used. In this extatick state of Mind, Men are said to dream waking; and the antient Poets call'd this a dreaming on *Parnassus*, in which Dream their Minds were opened, and they were led into Knowledges incommunicable to others in a common state. And as common Dreams, according to what many Persons may observe in themselves, often carry in them a prophetick Energy, so that what they dream comes to pass; so it's no wonder,

der, if in this extatick State of Dreaming (during which the Astral Impulses are incomparably stronger than in common Dreams, or in the ordinary Course of Life) that prophetick Energy more efficaciously exerts itself, so that Persons then, both sleeping and waking, surprizingly see, foresee, and predict what the Mind of Man in a common state cannot bear to. And I doubt not but the true Prophets were in these extatick Dreams when they prophesied : But as their Minds were purified by a due prophetick training, their divining Impulses always directed them to deliver wholesome Truths. Whereas others, who either by some severe Circumstances of human Life, or by being magically wrought on by some villanous Abusers of that Art, are brought into this extatick State without a due training, so that they have not pass'd a purgative Life, but have their Minds strongly possess'd with Passions and vicious Habits : These Persons, I say, tho' their strong Impulses may now and then direct them to deliver useful Truths, yet they more often deliver vain Falshoods, and many times are led away by deplorable Delusions ; as we may see in those Wretches who are accused of Witchcraft, and who commonly confess things as really transacted, which only pass in them in these extatick Dreams, and who for want of Judges knowing in this mysterious State of Mind, have been barbarously prosecuted and murdered, even to the Ridicule of Mankind ; since Men may be as well executed for falling into a Fit of an Epilepsy, the other being as involuntary, and as much out of the Person's power to avoid.

I may here also acquaint you, that this Extatical Disposition of Mind is many times contagious, according to the Dispositions of Persons who may be with such as are in it. This is manifest in the Visitation which happen'd some Years since in *New England*, where one Person happening to have the Specter Sight, it became in a short time so general, that two hundred
were

were accused of Witchcraft, and about twenty executed; the like having happen'd in many other Countries. Indeed all Persons are not infected with this extatick Contagion, tho' much using with those that are in those waking Extasies, but only such as are disposed for it, as it happens in contagious Diseases. The late Mr. *Emes*, famous for his Assurance of his Resurrection, when he went among the Prophets first, little thought of his becoming one; but had not been long with them, when he found himself seiz'd with the same Spirit: and I have been present when, upon a young Woman's falling into a Convulsion Fit, to which she was much subject, presently another young Woman, who chanced to be present, and who never had a Fit, nor seen any one in a Fit, fell into the like Fit, after a more severe manner than the other.

I shall farther give you here my Thoughts concerning those People in *Scotland*, who are said to have the Gift of the *Second-Sight* by Inheritance from Father to Son; and it is my Opinion, that those who first had this Gift by Descent, were begotten when one of their Parents were in an extatick State: and I recommend this Notion to a farther Consideration. I know some of the Ancients tell us what Methods have been used to bring Men to a Converse with *Genii*; but I shall not enlarge upon this here: and I hope and believe the Explication I have given of these Matters, may, and will prove of good use to some Persons, who may not easily find the like in their common Reading.

As for those who laugh at all Apparitions, as only imaginary, I shall give them two or three Instances, and leave them to their Consideration.

The learned *Nicholaus Selneccerus*, in *Analeſt. l. 4. b.* writes thus: It's true that many Spirits walk about, and are often seen; and we do not only read of Instances, but I my self have known Instances, and

both seen and heard Specters; concerning which the *Gentiles* said,

Sunt aliquid Manes, Lethum non omnia finit.

Melancthon, *L. de Animâ*, tells us, he had seen Specters, and knew many Men worthy of Credit, who affirm'd they had both seen, and discoursed with them.

Campanella, *L. 4. de Sensu Rerum*, writes thus: *Plotinus* and *Porphyrius* say there are Angels both good and bad, as daily Experience teaches, and my self also have found by manifest Experience, not when I earnestly endeavour'd it, but when I was minding another thing; and therefore it's no wonder if they did not appear to curious *Nero*. The same Author in the same Work, *L. 2. c. 25.* tells us, he knew many other Persons, who from Disbelievers, became afterwards convinc'd of the Reality of such Apparitions by their Sight, and a Converse with them. The same Author again, *Met. p. 2. c. 6. Art. 3* writes thus: We know there are both good and evil Spirits, from Persons being tormented by the latter, and visited by the former; and my self, when I was upon a long Enquiry after them, found nothing of them, but only when I thought not of them. Therefore let *Pliny*, *Aristotle*, and their Followers be silent; for, it's most certain there are *Dæmons* in the World, and it's a foolish thing, not to say impious, to deny it: for there are many of the best of Men, and of the most learned, who certify this from their own Experience, Men not Deceived nor Deceivers: And I know this now my self, and am not led by the Credulity of others. So far *Campanella*; and here you may read much more for confirming this Truth. See also the same Author, *Met. p. 3. l. 12. c. 2.* where he proves the Existence of Angels and *Dæmons*, by Reason, Experiences, Witness-
nesses,

nesses, Authorities, and the Consent of all Nations.

Now if any Man shall confidently tell me that these are all Illusions, as many are apt to do, and laugh at such Experiences; when I am convinc'd that these Laughters are Men of more Learning and Candor than the foregoing Testimonies, I may consider farther of it: Mean while, I hope they will give me leave to have such Regard for their negative against three good positive Evidences, as a Court of Judicature is commonly wont to have.

I know it's made a Question by some, whether Specters are aerial Images having a real Existence, or only imaginary Appearances and the Fancies of melancholick and weak Persons, who fancy they see Specters, when there is nothing real. But to grant there are sometimes such Fancies, must all Apparitions be so? In my Book of *Genii*, or *Familiar Spirits*, C. 4. I have given a Relation of some Women condemned for Witchcraft, at *Chelmsford*, in *Essex*, Anno 1645. one of whom, whose Name was *Elizabeth Clark*, said more than once to the Company present with her in the Night-Time, that she would call her *Imps* for them to see them; and she did call for seven or eight *Imps* by their several Names; and all the Persons present, to the number of Eight, saw them appear in the shapes of Dogs and Cats, &c. and this they deposed on Oath before a Magistrate.

Now I would ask any Man, whether he looks on these *Imps* only as the melancholy Fancies of this Woman: Indeed some who maintain that all Apparitions are only imaginary, tell us that the imaginative Species in the Mind can form the Air into the same Likeness; wherefore they think it in the power of melancholick Persons to form Specters in the Air; and *Helmont de Ortu Med. Tit. de injectis Mater.* says, The Power of the Imagination is so great, that it's able to produce some real external Things; which being produced by the imaginative Power as

it's join'd with the *Archæus*, constitutes a sort of shadowing Apparition, which walks about, and has a proper Substance.

Now if this Doctrine could hold, it might account for the aforementioned things; but others are of opinion this Doctrine cannot hold according to sound Philosophy, *viz.* That the imaginative Faculty in Man has so great a Power, that of it self, it can produce some real Effect, either within or out of the Body of the Person who imagines. I say of it self, because the imaginative Faculty of it self produces no Effect, but by Accident and indirectly, as it changes the Body of the Person, or that of the Embryo within it, by stirring up the Appetite, and this the removing Faculty, which moves the Spirits and Humours; but it produces no Effect on an external Body, there being no assignable Vehicle, Way, or Medium for it to perform it by. If therefore there are Apparitions which have a real Subsistence, they must be explained some other way, which will be hard to do but by the Hypothesis of Spirits. There is this to be said for a real Subsistence of some Specters, *viz.* That they are seen by all Persons present, as the Imps before-mentioned, and not only by some particular Person, who may say, he sees them, when others do not. Secondly, that they are perceived not only by the Sight, but likewise by the Touch; as some have been struck by them, when others have been present. Thirdly, they have sometimes carried away, or removed things from one place to another, and given other Marks of some real and understanding Agents. If we find it difficult to account for what Experience evinces of the Beings and Operations of Spirits, you may consider what *Campanella* writes concerning it, *Met. p. 3. L. 12. C. 3. Art. 3.* the Head of which Article is thus: That the way is unknown to us by which an Angel adapts a Body to himself; yet it is most true, that he appears
and

and operates in a Body, and Experience must not be deny'd for an Opinion. In the Article itself he freely owns, that these things cannot be understood, nor does he find them well explained by any Divines; yet he says they ought to be believed, tho' the Way is unknown to us: for the Art of the Superior Intel- ligences is not perceived by the Inferiors; as the *Americans* thought it impossible that a Paper should convey Thoughts, and that Clocks should tell the Hours of the Day, by a spontaneous Sound, which things are obvious to us.

Mr. *Saurin*, in his Defence of the Doctrine of the Reformed Church, concerning the Principle of Faith, has a material Passage relating to the foregoing Subject, c. 27. p. 329. where he writes thus: Mr. *Witsius* proves by many Examples, that the inward Instructions of God's Spirit go in some Subjects to a Revelation of particular Events; which is contradicted by some Divines: and tho' I make not myself a Party for Mr. *Witsius*, or those Divines, I think Mr. *Witsius*'s Opinion the more probable; and it's certain, that those who are for the Negative, cannot maintain it but two Ways: First, in shewing the Characters of Falshood, in some of the particular Relations, on which the Affirmative is established. Secondly, in saying that if a Man be not sure, that these Relations are false, he is no more sure that they are true. It is not necessary, he says, to advertise, that he does not speak here of the Examples given in the Old and New Testaments: The same Restrictions are made in the famous Controversy betwixt the *Esprits Forts* and *Foibles* concerning Apparitions, the Operations of the Devil, and the Enterprizes of Witches and Magicians. Wise and pious Men, who are neither of the *Esprits Forts* nor *Foibles*, in that evil Sense which is commonly given to this Title, believe, by a divine Faith, the Truth of the Histories contain'd in the Word of God; but they
judge

judge after a differing manner concerning common Relations, which are the Subject of the People's Wonder, and of the Raillery of those who look on themselves as above the People: Some of these Relations are possible, the greater part are false; and there are very few of them certain; or perhaps none of them at all are so.

Here we find Mr. *Saurin* seems inclined to think (as many do) that there is nothing real in what is said of Apparitions, or the Operations of evil Spirits, Witches, and Magicians; but I see not how he should be so inclined, if he kept to what he has laid down before concerning God's Revelation of particular Events; where he says, that those who are for the Negative, cannot maintain it, but either by shewing the Characters of Falshood in the particular Histories on which the Affirmative is established, or by saying, that if a Man is not sure those Relations are false, he is no more sure they are true. And here I must ask Mr. *Saurin*, or any Man else, whether they can shew Characters of Falshood in the foregoing Relations I have given of Apparitions, or say the Truth of the Facts I have instanced, is not fairly insured.

Aventinus, in his *Annals of Bavaria*, l. 4. gives us the following remarkable Relation concerning an Apparition:

In *Germany*, not far from the Town *Bing*, where the River *Navas* mixes itself with the *Rhine*, there is a Village, commonly call'd *Camont* (*quasi Caput Montium*) a Name given it by the *Romans*, when they possessed that Country, because there begin the Mountains which run along with the *Rhine* towards the North: There, in these our Days, a revolted and roving Spirit has done many strange things, playing prestigiating Tricks, and infesting the Inhabitants. First, this cursed Spirit, seen by no Man, began to throw Stones at Persons, and to knock at
Doors.

Doors. Soon after, this pestilent and wicked *Genius*, taking a Human Shape, gave Answers, discover'd Thefts, accused many of Crimes, and set a Mark of Infamy on them, stirr'd up Discords and Ill-Will among Persons: By degrees, he set fire to, and burnt down Barns and Cottages, but was more troublesome to one Man than the rest, always keeping with him wherever he went, and burnt his House; and, to stir up the whole Neighbourhood to destroy this innocent Man, the wicked Impostor openly declared, that for this Man's Crimes the Place lay under a Curse, and would be unfortunate; so that the Man was forced to lie without doors, all Persons denying him entrance into their Houses, they looking on him as one follow'd by evil Spirits: He, to satisfy his Neighbours, carry'd a burning-hot Iron in his Hand, with which not being hurt, he prov'd his Innocence: nevertheless the wicked Spirit burned his Stacks of Corn in the Fields; and as he was daily more and more troublesome, the Country People were forced to acquaint the Archbishop of *Mentz* with it, who sent Priests to expiate and lustrate the Fields and Villages; which they did with solemn Prayers and consecrated Water and Salt. The wicked and disturbed Spirit at first strove against them, and wounded some with Stones: but being overpowered by divine *Exorcisms*, and adjured by efficacious Prayers, he at length ceased, nor did he any where appear. When the Priests were gone, this pestilent Spirit return'd again, and said, while those bald-pated Priests mutter'd I know not what, I lay hid under the *Amiculum* of one of them (whom he named) who, by my persuasion, lay the last Night with his Host's Daughter. And having said this, the wicked Ghost went off with a mighty roaring Noise, and left the Country quiet.

An Occasion being here given, it will not be besides our Purpose to take things a little higher, concerning

cerning the burning-hot Iron, the scalding Water, and single Combat, and the expiatory and pretorial Ceremonies used on their account: Our Ancestors being most religious Persons, confided more in God than themselves, rely'd more on the Divine Justice and God's Promises, than on their own Wit, or Wisdom; and rather stood to the Divine Decrees, than their own Opinions: They look'd on God as present in all Acts and Things done and thought; things were then ratify'd, when the Divine Pleasure had adjudged them: they concluded that all things were done in the Theatre of Heaven, God looking on them: and therefore in doubtful Causes, especially in Crimes which could not be proved by any Human Testimony, they fled to the Divine Pleasure, to the Supreme Majesty, who could not be deceiv'd, as to an honorary Umpire, and Judge of all things. The Senate, People, and Priests, who came in Crowds to see a single Combat, as I find in the *Salick-Law*, implored the Divine Aid, they commemorated the Benefits which, on a like Occasion, our Saviour, through his Benignity and Clemency had conferr'd on them; they minded him of his Promises, recited Examples, prayed that his mighty Power would shew itself on the present Occasion, according to his Promise, as it had always done hitherto; and that, according to his Justice, he would be present to the Innocent, and grant him Victory. Free leave was granted the Accused of making choice of, and hireing whom he pleased to fight for him, the Accuser was forced to fight himself. I find in the antient Books of Sacrifices, the burning-hot Iron, and the scalding-hot Water were consecrated by the Priests with the following Prayers:

God, just Judge, strong and patient, who are Author and Lover of Justice, who judge equitably; judge, O Lord, that which is just, because your Judgments are right; who look on the Earth, and
make

make it tremble. You Almighty Lord, who have saved the World by the coming of your Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and redeemed Mankind by his Passion, do you sanctify this scalding-hot Water, as you preserv'd the three Children *Sidrach, Misach,* and *Abdenago*, who were cast into a burning Furnace by the Command of the King of *Babylon*; do you most clemently bring it to pass, that if any Innocent puts his Hand into this Water, it may be drawn out safe and unhurt, as you preserved the three fore-mention'd Children from the Fiery-Furnace, and freed *Susanna* from the Crimes falsely laid to her charge. But if any culpable Person, having his Heart harden'd by the Devil, shall presume to put his Hand into it, let your most just Piety vouchsafe to declare it, that your Power may be manifested on his Body, and his Soul may be saved through Repentance.

God, just Judge, who are Author of Peace, and judge equitably, we humbly pray you, that you will vouchsafe to bless and sanctify this *Iron*, appointed for making a just Tryal of some Doubts; so that if an Innocent (in the fore-mentioned Cause where a Purgation is sought) shall take it Fire-hot in his Hand, he may appear unhurt: and if the Person be culpable and guilty, let your Power be most just in this, by declaring it in him; so that Iniquity may not prevail over Justice, and Falshood may yield to Truth, through our Lord, &c.

And these things were so far from being judged impious, that I find those Ceremonies for Purgation were used by the most holy Pontiffs, the most Christian Princes, and by Men and Women consecrated to the Service of God. That was then to be Wise, to trust in God, to place all our Hope in him. In our Age nothing less is practised, for it's now look'd upon only as a Folly and a provoking the immortal God to Anger by irritating him: Thus

we see, the same Fact, in divers Ages, is accounted in one place Piety, and in another Error. So far *Aventinus*.

Now there are many things to be noted in this Relation : First, as to the evil Spirit's throwing Stones, knocking at Doors, and burning Stacks of Corn, we have had the like Instances in *England* and *Scotland* ; and there is now a House in *London*, in which, for the three Years last past, there have been heard, and are still, almost continual knockings against the Wainscot, and Over-head ; and sometimes a Noise like telling of Money, and of Mens sawing, to the great disturbance of the Inhabitants ; and often Lights have been seen there like to flashes of Lightning ; and the Person who rents the House has told me, that when she has removed eight Miles from *London*, the knockings have followed her.

Secondly, It's remarkable, that the Person chiefly concerned in the Disturbance at *Camont*, put himself upon the fiery Tryal for his Purgation, which I do not remember to have met with else-where, on the like Occasion. Those who are unacquainted in the Tryals of *Ordeal*, may have recourse to several Authors concerning them. *Bangertus* in his Notes on the *Chronicon Slavorum*, writ by *Helmoldus* and *Arnoldus*, has drawn together many Instances of them : In his Notes on the First, he writes, That there occur many Examples of those Tryals from the fifth to the thirteenth Age, and some later : And if what *Aventinus* relates, past in his own time, it must be so late as about the Year 1500. for he was born *An.* 1466. and died in the 68th Year of his Age. If there were Truth in those Tryals, and to be relied on, we might justly lament our Times.

*Heu ! tam præsentes nobis cognoscere Divos
Non licet.* —————

But

But *Trithemius* in his *Chron. Hirfang.* tells us, that about the Year 1215. when many Persons of both Sexes had incurred a Suspicion of Herefy, *Conradus de Marburg*, an Apostolical Inquisitor, put them all, without distinction, on the fiery Tryal; but *Trithemius* owns he burnt many Innocents, and says, that after he had exercised this cruel Butchery till the Year 1233, he was kill'd.

Bangertus examines also whence these sorts of Tryals came among the Christians; whether they used them in imitation of the *Gentiles*, or of the Divine Rites of the *Jews*, and says, they seem in the Tryal by Water, to have had a mind to imitate the divine Law of the *Jews*, in *their Cup of Jealousy*: but the Fiery-Tryal may seem to have been derived to them from the *Gentiles*; for the Messenger who told *Creon*, King of *Thebes*, that the Body of *Polynices*, which he had order'd, on pain of Death, to be thrown out in the Fields, and lie unburied, was privately buried, (which was done by his Sister *Antigone*) when he found the King was much incensed at it, and would excuse himself and his Companions, who were set to guard the Body, said, as we find in the *Antigone* of *Sophocles*,

*No Man is found who did it, and it is hid to us,
But we are ready both to take a red-hot Iron in our Hands,
And to walk on burning Coals, and to swear by the Gods,
That we neither did it, nor had any Knowledge
Of him that either advised it, or did it.*

And here I may note what *Strabo* writes, l. 5. as follows, concerning these Tryals: Under the Mountain *Soraete*, stands the City *Feronia*, by which Name also a certain Goddess is call'd, to whom the People of that Country pay a wonderful Veneration, and she has a Temple there with a wonderful sort of sacred Mysteries, for those that are inspired by that God-

deffs, walk with their bare Feet on burning Coals, without being hurt ; and a world of People flock there every Year, at a certain time, to see this perform'd. Others think the antient Christians introduced the Fiery-Tryal from the Bible ill-understood by them ; for in the Prayers with which they consecrated the red-hot Iron, they often referred to the Examples of *Sidrach*, *Misach*, and *Abdenago*, and God has often manifested his Presence by the Fire, as a thing agreeable to the Deity.

Bangertus concludes thus : Who may not have cause to wonder that, tho' the Cælestial Deity has given no Command for Mens making use of these Tryals ; yet often by them he has given a Testimony of Guilt and Innocency. *Grotius* in his *Prolegomena* to his History of the *Goths*, answers, That because God was better pleased with plain Honesty, than with nice studied ways of Address, he accommodated his wonder-working Power to the Laws of those innocent People, who sought to find out the Innocence of particular Persons by the Touch of fire-hot *Ploughshares*.

But notwithstanding God was sometimes pleased to give Testimony of Guilt and Innocency by those Tryals, yet all Men were convinced, at long run, that many unjust Judgments had pass'd in them. All the famous Civilians in *Germany* unanimously concluded, that in criminal Causes those obscure, divinatory, superstitious, and indeed, *null* Proofs, did not suffice ; but Proofs more clear than the Noon-Day, were required, and all the most learned Divines, Politicians, Physicians, and Philosophers exploded this mad way of Tryal, calling it a superstitious Invention, introduced by Satan and credulous hearkeners to him, the Devil's May-game, the ground of dangerous and scandalous Tragedies : so that, at length, they were totally abolish'd.

Thus

Thus we see ; that after Christianity had egregiously plaid the fool about a thousand Years, they began to grow wiser, and Men have had fairer Play in criminal Causes ; and as Man's Condition is somewhat mended in this respect, it may be wish'd, and I am sorry I cannot say hoped, that all those who administer Justice, as to *Meum* and *Tuum*, in Christian Governments, would seriously consider they are incomparably out-done in that respect by the *Turks*, and the more rational *Pagans*, and would think of some Amendment. I cannot now enlarge on this Subject, but must say, I think Men cannot enough resent those villanous and execrable Abuses daily put on them by the delays of Justice and the Corruptions used in the Administration of it in the generality of Christian Governments :

———*Non hic Arcana revelo,
Non ignota loquor, liceat vulgata referre.*

And as *Aventinus* observes, that what at one time is accounted Piety, at another time is accounted Error, we may consider what Christians, partly by their Policy, and partly by their Zeal without Knowledge, have brought Religion to.

*Nunc gerit hanc, aliam Speciem nunc induit anno
Religio, ad procerum Senſa parata loqui.*

*This, or that Mask Religion every Year
Puts on, as Rulers whisper in her Ear.*

I shall only add one Observation here, viz. That as all Men must allow there was a Reality in the fore-mentioned Tryals, both among Christians and Pagans ; so that some carried burning-hot Irons in their Hands, some dip'd their Arms up to their Elbows in scalding-hot Water, some walk'd on burning Coals,

Coals, &c. without hurt ; I say, as these Facts must be allow'd, unless we take all History for a Ballad, this seems to me a strong Proof for the Existence of Spirits, or invisible Intelligent Beings ; and if any Man will be Refractory, and admit those Facts, but deny the Existence of the other, I desire him to shew me wherein the Admittance of those Facts, sits more easy on his Understanding, than the Admittance of the other. And so I conclude this Work.



F I N I S.



